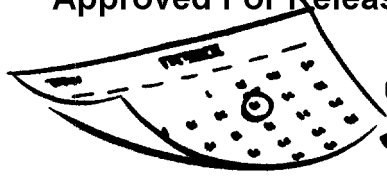


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Significant Dates ▶

[ASTERISK denotes ANNIVERSARIES. All others are CURRENT EVENTS]

MAY

- 1 May Day -- International Workers' Day. First designated by Second International (Socialist Congress) in 1889.
- 5-7 Bureau and Executive Meetings of World Federation of Scientific Workers, East Berlin. (Communist front)
- 8* V-E Day, end of World War II. 1945.
- 9-13 5th Conference of Chemical Workers Trade Union International at Geneva. (Affiliate of WFTU: Communist front)
- 15* Third International declared dissolved by Soviets; 1943. Announcement on 22 May 1943 declares other Communist Parties to be autonomous.
- 16* Treaty of Aigan, first of "Unequal Treaties," cedes Chinese territory east of Amur River to Russia. Treaty never ratified, but confirmed by Treaty of Peking, 14 November 1860. 1858.
- 25* Josip Broz Tito born. 1892. SEVENTY-FIFTH BIRTHDAY.

JUN

- 1 International Childrens' Day, celebrated by Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF; Communist front).
- 5* Secretary of State George C. Marshall proposes European Recovery Plan ("Marshall Plan") in speech at Harvard. 1947. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 6* Nicola Petkov, leader of agrarian opposition in Bulgaria, arrested, 1947. TWENTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 11-12* Marshal Tukhachevsky and seven other top Red Army generals arrested; later tried secretly and executed. 1937. THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 16* First Congress of Soviets (Councils of Workers; and Soldiers' Deputies) meets; only 137 out of 1090 members are Bolsheviks. 1917. FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY.
- 16-17* East German workers and youths demonstrate and riot, quelled by Soviet troops. (Commemorated annually in West Germany as German Day of Unity.) 1953.
- 17* Hungarian government announces trial and execution of Imre Nagy, Premier during Hungarian revolt who had been seized in violation of promise of safe-conduct. 1958.
- 22* Germany invades the Soviet Union. 1941.
- 25* North Korean army crosses 38th parallel, invading South Korea, 1950.
- 28-29* Demonstration by Pozran workers against wage abuses turns into riot; Polish government crushes riot, killing 44, wounding hundreds, though later moves to correct abuses. 1956.
- 30* Republic of the Congo proclaimed. 1960.

Media Lines

13 March 1967

Soviet Newspapers Hit by TV Competition. According to official Soviet statistics, circulation of the three best known Soviet dailies, PRAVDA, the Party organ, IZVESTIA, the government paper, and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, the youth paper, has significantly declined. Radio Moscow gives the following circulation figures for 1965 and 1966:

	1965	1966
PRAVDA	7,000,000	6,000,000
IZVESTIA	7,800,000	7,500,000
KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA	6,800,000	"more than 6,000,000"

Most of the decline seems due to increasing sales of TV sets (16.4 million sets from 1961 through 1964). Another reason is that the government has cracked down on newsprint allocations, which formerly were made arbitrarily without regard to circulation figures, thus encouraging larger runs than the papers were able to sell. Now, however, the government is trying to match allocations to actual sales. An interesting point is that NOVY MIR, the "liberal" monthly, has actually increased its circulation despite frequent official censure. One cause of PRAVDA'S substantial decline is probably the boring character of this Party paper; the more enlightened IZVESTIA suffered a much smaller fall in circulation.

Censorship between Communist Countries? The German-language weekly VOLKSZEITUNG, published in Czechoslovakia for the remnants of the German minority, asked in its 23 December 1966 issue for addresses of East German friends who might subscribe. The editor added that the East German Ministry for Post and Publications had "given the assurance that henceforth any subscriptions to the VOLKSZEITUNG from the GDR could be accepted which had previously been refused" on the grounds that "the limit of mutual exchanges of press and cultural products had been filled." (In East Germany, as in a number of other countries, post offices also handle subscriptions to periodicals.) What this actually shows is that, despite all "post-Stalin thaw," even the flow of publications from one Communist country to another remains subject to censorship. Moreover, for old Stalinist Ulbricht, the Kremlin's satrap in East Germany, even publications from neighboring Czechoslovakia have appeared dangerously "liberal" and not fit for his East German subjects. Now, however, he needs Prague's unstinted support in his desperate defense against West Germany's diplomatic openings to the East....

Briefly Noted ✓

Soviet Journals Berate One Another.

Conservatives Versus Liberals in Moscow

IZVESTIA, the Soviet Government daily, has within recent weeks chastised both OKTYABR (October), conservative monthly, and NOVY MIR (New World), a liberal (by Soviet standards) monthly, for a running feud they have been conducting with one another. NOVY MIR has for the past several years been quite daring at times in implicitly criticizing the regime. Its most significant action has been to go as far as possible in defending writers such as Andrey Sinyavsky and Yuri Daniel, who were sentenced to hard labor for what a Moscow court termed anti-Soviet propaganda. OKTYABR, on the other hand, has consistently criticized artists and writers who do not conform to the Party's prescription of "Socialist realism." Maybe IZVESTIA criticized OKTYABR mainly so that it could then attack NOVY MIR. Foreign subscribers to NOVY MIR have often remarked that it is always much later in arriving than other Soviet publications, leading them to believe that it is held up in the censorship offices at times for as long as two months. Assets might speculate that NOVY MIR's position is being undercut further because the Party fears that the liberals may express dissent and disaffection just prior to or at the impending May 1967 (4 years overdue) Congress of the Writers' Union of the USSR -- or that they may spoil the harmony of 50th Anniversary celebrations.

* * *

Thoughts on Bridge Building

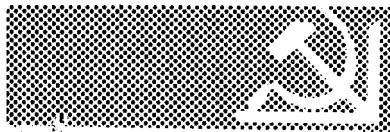
The Study of Mao Tse-tung

The following quotation from New China News Agency and Look Magazine's (7 February 1967 issue) comment thereon suggests one method of countering Chinese claims regarding Mao's magic powers:

New China News Agency... said the bridge, measuring 2,190 feet in length, was built in 130 days by workers who "held aloft the great red banner of Mao Tze-tung's thought and studied Chairman Mao's works."

Think what they could have done if they'd had their hands free.

* * *



Propagandist's Guide to WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS



#11

31 January - 27 February 1967

ICM AND "SOCIALIST CAMP" AFFAIRS

1. The violent Chinese provocation and abuse of Soviet and other Soviet-aligned Communist (and French) diplomatic personnel in Peking during the 3-week "bloody atrocities" campaign -- in addition to the internal excesses and chaos of the "cultural revolution" -- draw further sharp condemnation throughout most of the ICM. Notable exceptions are the Albanians, who, after avoiding mention of the CR during the last quarter of 1966, have rallied to strong support, and the Rumanians, who still remain silent. (See special summary of the "atrocities" campaign in Chronology.)
2. Rumania cracks the solid EE Communist front with East Germany against ties with Bonn and establishes full diplomatic relations while Bonn simultaneously publicly reiterates its claim to represent all Germans. A hurriedly-called meeting of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers fails to support East German demands (after Kosygin publicly endorsed the Bucharest-Bonn agreement) and seems to give a "green light" to each country to develop relations as it wishes. (J 31-F 10)
3. An "Editing Commission" of delegates from 19 European CPs meets secretly in Warsaw to prepare for an April 24-27 meeting of "European Communist and workers parties" on European security in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia: reported absent are Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Netherlands. (F 22-26)
4. The Italian CP/CC apparently almost supported the convening of a world CP conference regardless of Chinese participation, -- and then hedged in the face of the opposition of a few prominent leftists. (F 21-24) The Soviets seem to be too preoccupied with the Chinese "atrocities" assault to push the conference project during this period.
5. The North Korean and Japanese CPs show further alienation from the Chinese. (F 19-26 and F 9ff-&-14/17, resp.)
6. The Albanians further publicize the purported pro-Chinese Polish and Soviet underground opposition parties; -- and the Czechs sarcastically "expose" the Polish as a one-man "Party." (F 7 & 14)

INTERNATIONAL FRONT ORGANIZATIONS

7. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) Council meets in Cyprus to consider a proposal to change the venue for the 5th AAPSO Conference scheduled for Peking this year. With the Chinese boycotting it as illegal and Soviet-manipulated, a majority votes to hold it in Algiers. The Chinese charge "open splitting" and threaten to hold their own in Peking. (F 3 & 13-16. See also BPG Item #1106.)
8. The Chinese member of the World Peace Council (WPC) Secretariat boycotts a Budapest meeting, though he was reportedly invited. (F 10-11.)
9. Peking reports completion of the "third Afro-Asian course in journalism" under sponsorship of its Afro-Asian Journalists Association, with students from Ceylon and 5 African lands. It also publicizes two further Chinese-serving "statements" by its "Afro-Asian Writers Bureau."

COMMUNIST CHINA

10. We have again presented a summary of the reporting on China in our unclassified Chronology. Although it may be rash to offer an interpretation, to say nothing of a forecast, it does appear to us that Mao may be consenting to a tactical slowdown in the headlong drive to "seize power" from the established party/state machine which he had launched in January. This was probably forced on him by a combination of factors, most important of which are certainly the public confusion and demoralization and the disruption of the economy, -- especially the disorganization of the countryside with the spring planting period at hand and food supplies at a critical level. Chou En-lai and the Army seem to be leading the move toward moderation and restoration of order, but there is no reliable evidence of any formal or informal grouping of opposition to Mao in the hierarchy. The big question now is whether a "revolution" like this -- a naked effort to seize power from the established machine on a nationwide scale -- can be stopped "halfway" (or less) to the goal and returned to a durable equilibrium. Probably Chou himself has his doubts on this one!

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11. [REDACTED]
the Chinese Foreign Ministry did warn the resident correspondents in mid-February that it considered their reporting unfriendly and implied measures might be taken in retaliation. It seems most likely that this has led the correspondents to impose a heavy self-censorship upon their reporting.
12. Mao Tse-tung is reported making two personal appearances in small groups during the period, meeting February 3rd with the Albanian delegation which arrived in January and on the 15th with a Mauritanian delegation. Lin Piao has not been reported in public since November. The status of Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping, and other targets of the CR is still uncertain.

13. Chinese media continue to hammer away on the theme of Soviet-U.S. collusion in an anti-China alliance -- and are now facing an increasing flow of Soviet charges of Chinese-U.S. collusion! (J 31 and continuing)
14. The CPR lashes out at a new target: a note to Tunisia denounces its words and deeds (its "two Chinas" policy) as gross interference, flagrant provocations, etc. (F 16)

SOVIET AFFAIRS

15. Soviet media give heavy coverage to China during this period, reporting in detail on the "outrages" against Soviet personnel and property (and those of other countries), describing Chinese persecution of national minorities and Moslems (F 10 ff), charging the Chinese with interfering with the delivery of supplies to Vietnam for the war effort (F 2 ff), blasting them for coddling native capitalists (F 8), citing an anonymous "letter from a Chinese schoolboy which depicts the tragedy which millions of Chinese citizens are experiencing" in the CR (F 18), etc.
16. Most notable among Soviet authoritative comment was a major PRAVDA editorial on Feb. 16, the strongest denunciation of Mao's policies and appeal to the Chinese people since its Nov. 28, 1966, blast. Also of interest was a Feb. 20 PRAVDA signed article defending the "leading role" of a CP against both Maoist attack from the left and erosion from the right.
17. Kosygin's week-long visit to Britain, while not spectacular in its immediate results, seems to indicate some rapprochement from both sides. (F 6-13)
17. The USSR signs a \$100 million military aid agreement with CENTO member Iran. (F 7)
18. We have a confidential report that the USSR and Cuba finally signed their 1967 trade agreement on Feb. 1. The Soviets will continue to subsidize the Cubans to the extent of paying six cents per pound for sugar, more than 3 times the current market price. "Any problems encountered during the trade talks had no effect on Soviet military deliveries," which "have been increased in recent months." (Confidential)

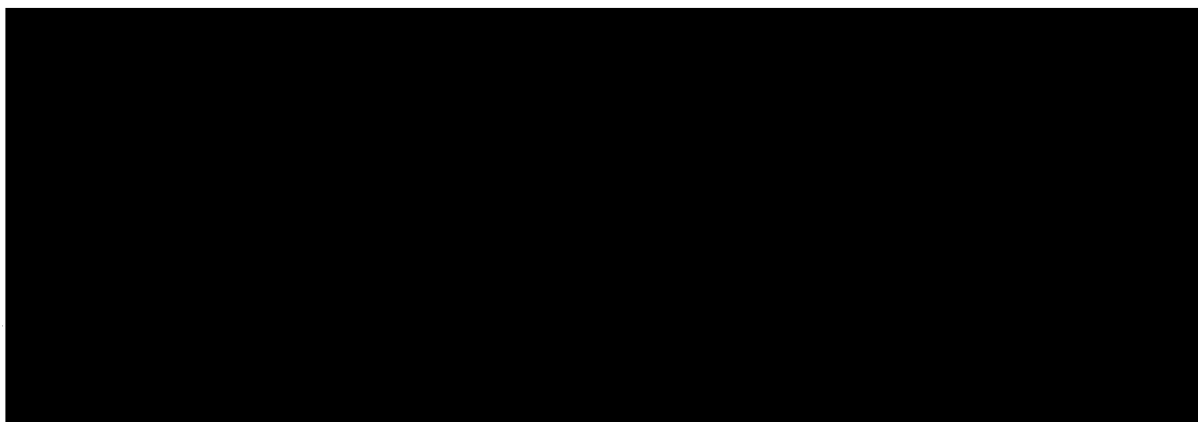
EAST EUROPE

19. A Czech youth brigade of designers and metal workers is reported bound for service in Cuba. (F 7)
20. An Albanian ZERI I POPULLIT editorial on Feb. 9 perceptively describes Soviet measures to keep its people from learning the truth about

the Chinese CR (jamming, censorship, distortions, etc.) and the transparency of Soviet solicitude for the peoples of the East. There is inconclusive evidence of a power struggle, with "CR trappings," inside Albania. (F 17 & 23)

(The only significant developments involving the parties of Asia, Western Europe or the Western Hemisphere have been covered above in conjunction with the ICM or other countries.)

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(Advertisement)

* * * * *

"FIFTY YEARS OF BUILDING COMMUNISM--An Epic Period!"

-- We agree; the period included such epic events as

the Kronstadt Uprising
the blood purges of the 1930's
the Nazi-Soviet Pact
the murder of Trotsky
the failures of Soviet agriculture
the Hungarian Revolution
the building of the Berlin Wall....

You and your contacts could wait and see how the Soviets cover these historic events, but -- you might wait a long time.

Why not order some of the following publications now:

The Kronstadt Rebellion, by Alexander Berkman

"30 Years After Stalin's Great Purge" (New York Times article)

20th Anniversary of Hitler's Aggression Against the Soviet Union

Communists Murder Communists

The Great Decade in Soviet Agriculture

10th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, 1956-1966

The Berlin Wall: A Defense of Human Rights

* * * * *

#11

31 January 27 February 1967

WORLD COMMUNIST AFFAIRS

CHRONOLOGY

The Struggle in China

Confusion and unreliable reporting on events in China continues: we again treat these developments in an outline summary apart from our usual chronological account.

A. The great 'January revolution' :

In January, the Maoist leadership had apparently launched a drive to seize power from the established party/state machine throughout the land, following the much-publicized 'Shanghai example.' There a 'headquarters' of a number of 'revolutionary rebel organizations' had first taken over the principal newspapers and the local radio station and then proclaimed the seizure of all power from the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee, -- declaring the latter to be leading the opposition to Mao. This was followed by similar proclamations of seizure in other provincial centers, while PEOPLE'S DAILY frankly admitted that: 'Right from the beginning, the GPCR has been a struggle for seizure of power. As it became apparent that the seizure drive was running into heavy opposition, Mao took the risk of ordering the Army into the fray, with orders to support and defend the 'revolutionary rebels' when necessary (even though they may be a 'temporary minority'), -- and Army intervention was reported to have played a decisive role in several subsequent provincial take overs. Meanwhile, in Peking wall posters claimed the take-over of a dozen central ministries, and, on January 29, the formation of a new Peking Revolutionary Rebel Commune to 'assume and execute the overall power in the capital. On the 31st, RED FLAG declared: 'The storm of the 'January revolution' is now sweeping the whole country.'

B. The revolution stalled in February: one step backward?

The revolution apparently makes little or no advance after the end of January. Media announce developments which are depicted as gains, -- but there is also evidence that some of the January claims were not valid or have not been maintained. Meanwhile, the regime, showing increasing awareness of the country's dependence on the experienced cadres of the Party/State machine, emphasizes the necessity of establishing a 'three-way alliance' of 'revolutionaries', the military, and loyal cadres to 'seize' and hold power at all levels. The Army's role in this 'alliance' is increasingly evident, but it is Chou En-lai, preaching moderation, who stands out prominently as the spokesman of the regime, while Lin Biao, out of sight since November, is rarely even mentioned. Specifically:

(WCA Chrono Cont.)

(1) RED FLAG on proper treatment of cadres: An editorial Jan. 31, "On the Struggle to Seize Power by Proletarian Revolutionaries," acknowledges that leading cadres "have greater experience in struggle, they are more mature politically and they have greater organizational skill. The seizure and retention of power will be immeasurably helped by their inclusion in the core of leadership. Cadres who have made errors should be treated correctly and should not be overthrown indiscriminately...." The lead editorial of RF's next issue, appearing Feb. 22, is entirely devoted to the subject: "Cadres Should Be Treated Correctly."

(2) The rise and fall of the "People's Commune": Evidence indicates that the Peking regime has had second thoughts and decided not to permit the development of "People's Communes" based on the Paris Commune of 1871, at least at this time.

(a) There was never any official or press mention of the poster-reported (Jan. 29) decision to form a Peking Commune, as far as we know.

(b) The Shanghai Maoists, heroes of the "January revolution," on Feb. 5 proclaimed the establishment of a "provisional committee of the Shanghai People's Commune" and issued a radical "declaration" and "Order No. 1," the latter including passages such as:

"1. The death sentence is declared to the old Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee and the S.M. People's Council, depriving them of all their power. All directives and documents concerning the GPCR signed by ... [those organs] since 16 May 1966 are declared null and void immediately, with the exception of directives and documents of the CCP/CC, the State Council, the Central Military Council, and the CR Group under the CCP/CC....

"4. Instruments of the proletarian dictatorship, including public security bureaus, courts, procuratorates, broadcasting stations, and newspaper agencies, shall be subjected to the...Commune...."

While Shanghai media continue to publicize the Commune during the following 18 days, Peking never mentions this new development. Finally, on Feb. 23, Shanghai renames the Commune as the "Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee (SMRC)," "in accord with the correct instruction of the Central Committee!" However, the first resolution of the renamed SMRC on Feb. 24 declares that:

"The founding of the SMRC is the beginning of the stepping-up of the struggle for the seizure of power and definitely not the end.... Our future tasks in the struggle will be more arduous and complicated...."

(c) 11 days after Shanghai, on Feb. 16, the Maoists in Harbin form a 'provisional committee of the Harbin People's Commune.' The first paragraph of their 'Notice No. 1' is almost identical with that in Shanghai, but they hasten to emphasize proper treatment of cadres. Earlier in February, Peking media had warmly endorsed the power seizure in Harbin. It was one of the first cases of decisive intervention by the Army, after the Maoists had been surrounded by the so-called Jung Fu Chun ('army of the disabled and demobilized'). This was also the only Mao province to retain the old Party first secretary. All Peking papers on the 11th had front-paged 'the new experience created by the revolutionary rebels in Heilungkiang Province, namely, the allied seizure of power through the 'three-way combination' of revolutionary organizations, Army units stationed there, and 'revolutionary leading cadres in the Party and Government organizations.' Since the announcement of the Harbin Commune, however, Peking has not mentioned Harbin or Heilungkiang Province, as far as we know!

(3) The "back where you belong" movement: A series of measures were reported taken to get people back to their homes, jobs, farms, and schools, including:

--- A CCP/CC-State Council decision of Feb. 7 to suspend the 'long marches' and send all Red Guards home.

--- An order by the same organs on Feb. 16 disbanding all mass national revolutionary organizations not recognized by the central authorities. 'Members must immediately return to their native provinces or to their work posts.'

--- A Feb. 17 order by the same organs directing all rural workers to get back to their jobs. A CCP/CC regulation of same date stipulating that literary workers should return to their posts.

--- CCP/CC directives of the 4th and 12th that all primary and secondary schools will reopen by March 1, leaving only the universities closed. While giving top priority to the need to pursue the CR and study Mao's thought in the schools, they recognize that some other subjects may be taught: 'even during the period of the CR, primary schools must study arithmetic and basic science,' and, in the secondary schools, 'necessary lessons, such as mathematics, physics, and foreign languages, shall also be studied.'

(4) Concern about spring planting and cultivation: A number of communications, including especially a Feb. 11 'urgent proposal' from the agriculture and forestry departments and a Feb. 20 letter from the CCP/CC to all rural communes, show serious concern lest the CR disrupt spring planting. The CC Military Affairs Committee on the 25th directs the troops to support vigorously spring cultivation.

(5) The key role of the military: Earlier reporting and speculation threw doubt on the loyalty, cohesiveness, and probable role of the military, but these doubts were not substantiated: the army has increasingly emerged as the only real force capable of order. It is the Army which is called on to effect the "three-way alliance" with the "revolutionaries" and cadres and to quash extremists among the "rebels." In Peking, the Military Affairs Committee took over control of the Public Security Bureau on Feb. 11: on the 25th, presumably in support of the above-mentioned order disbanding all unauthorized national organizations, it issued an 8-page decree banning eight (or nine?) specific groups using Red Guard or revolutionary names.

(6) Chou En-lai at the helm? As indicated above, Chou En-lai has increasingly appeared as the spokesman of the regime, always nominally loyal to Mao but counseling moderation and defending the Party/State hierarchy. (Speaking to a meeting of finance and trade personnel on the 17th, he went so far as to disclose that Coal Minister Chang Lin-chi had died in Red Guard captivity following 40 days of brutal interrogation.) With Mao out of sight, Lin Piao out of sight and almost unmentioned, and even Chiang Ching (Mrs. Mao) seemingly subdued, Chou may well be the man in charge -- insofar as any man can be!

C. Chinese censorship?

European correspondents were practically prevented from functioning in Peking during the first half of February and seem to have been somewhat inhibited since, leaving the outside world more dependent than ever on the Japanese. Since about the 20th however, the volume of Japanese reporting has fallen off sharply, with only one or two new items coming out some days. It may be that they are being subjected to pressure if not actual censorship.

The Chinese "atrocities" campaign

Since the initial altercation of Chinese students with Soviet police in Moscow's Red Square on January 25, the Chinese expand their campaign of provocations and demonstrations on the theme of "bloody, fascist, revisionist atrocities" to unprecedented scale and violence for almost three weeks -- involving acrimonious exchanges with the Mongolians, French, Czechs, Poles, Bulgarians, East Germans, and Hungarians as well as the Soviets, and drawing sharp criticism from many other CPs, -- until they suddenly terminate it about February 13. Soviet media as well as third parties attribute the campaign to Peking's desire to divert the attention of its people from the difficulties of the CR and rally xenophobic nationalism to its support, -- with the ultimate hope of pushing the Soviets to break relations. Highlights (since those described in #10) are:

A. Vis a vis the Soviets: The massive round the clock demonstrations around the Soviet Embassy in Peking continue through the 12th, with loudspeakers blaring at the Soviets, slogans painted and plastered on the walls, on automobiles, etc., effigies of Soviet leaders dragged in coffins, hanged, and burned, a storming which breaks down the iron gates, etc. The Chinese authorities warn Soviet personnel on the 6th not to leave the enclosure as their safety could not be guaranteed: the ban remains until the 12th. Chinese employees of the Embassy are out on strike. Telephone communications are cut on the 8th. A group of Soviet dependents departing at Peking airport are surrounded, insulted, threatened, and manhandled (per Soviet claims) for 16 hours. A bus load of Soviet personnel receives similar treatment. Etc.

In Moscow, the Soviets refuse a Feb. 1 Chinese request for another group of students to place wreaths in Red Square: the Chinese Embassy protests on the 2nd. On the 3rd, Soviet citizens remove large showcases with pictures of the 'atrocities' in Red Square, and scuffle with Chinese personnel who try to stop them. This leads to a loudspeaker war, with truck-mounted Soviet equipment countering loudspeakers blaring out from the Embassy. Four days later, the Chinese 'mousetrap' a group of Soviet protestors inside the Embassy building. Soviet counter-measures include a ban on all photos by Chinese and cancellation of the Chinese privilege of entering the USSR without visas.

Among the public recriminations by the antagonists during this period, the following seem noteworthy:

... A Soviet Govt statement of the 4th denouncing the Chinese outrages in Peking to that time as 'without precedent in the history of diplomatic relations against official representatives of another state' and warning the Chinese Govt that Soviet patience is not boundless.

... Both the Chinese Embassy and the Soviet Foreign Ministry hold Moscow press conferences on the 4th on the removal of the Embassy's showcases, giving contradictory accounts of what happened. A Chinese Govt statement on the 5th brands it a flagrant encroachment on China's sovereignty as well as a violation of the most elementary principles guiding diplomatic relations, 'a gross insult to the CPR and the 700 million Chinese people, as well as a most serious crime of sabotaging the relations between China and the Soviet Union... rarely seen in the history of international relations and absolutely cannot be tolerated.

... The peoples of China, the Soviet Union, and the rest of the world are now closely watching how far the SovGovt will go in disrupting Sino-Soviet relations....

The Chinese Govt hereby lodges the most vehement protest... against the new fascist outrage.... The SovGovt must publicly admit its mistakes, apologize to all the victims... (etc.). Otherwise, the SovGovt must be held fully responsible for all the grave consequences arising therefrom....

PEOPLE'S DAILY adds next day:

...Clearly, minimum protection for the safety of the Chinese Embassy staff no longer exists in the SU.... Is your country still able to maintain normal diplomatic relations with another country? Should your country be considered a state or not?

--IZVESTIYA on the 7th cites 'foreign observers' as wondering how long the outrages can go on and as being of the unanimous opinion that Peking is striving to force the Soviet Union to break off official diplomatic relations with the CPR.

--A SovGovt note of the 9th denounces the 'shameful campaign of enmity and hatred,' the 'unheard of humiliations and acts of physical violence,' and the enforced confinement of its Embassy personnel: it 'demands an immediate end' to all this. 'If this is not done within a very short time, the Soviet side reserves the right to take the necessary retaliatory measures.'

--Also on the 9th, the Chinese Embassy lodges a 'serious protest' with Soviet Foreign Ministry over an 'anti-China brawl' at the Moscow railway station when a Soviet mob encircled a group of departing Chinese students and diplomats, threw ice, apples, and eggs at the Chinese diplomatic personnel, spit at them, and vilified them most wildly and arrogantly. Soviet spokesman Mekhoroshev charges that the Chinese faked the incident. Next day, Chinese Foreign Ministry delivers two protests to the Soviet Embassy: one on the Soviet 'hooligan outrages' against Chinese in Moscow and one on the Soviet 'unilateral scrapping of the agreement of the two countries on the abolition of visas.'

--Chou En-lai and Chen Yi are featured speakers at a Peking rally of 100,000 to welcome the returned Chinese students and Embassy personnel and denounce the 'Soviet revisionist clique and their barbaric atrocities.' The crowd proceeds to the Soviet Embassy to stage the strongest demonstration against the Soviet outrages. (On the eve of the end!)

B. Mongolia: The Peking Red Guards attack a Mongolian Embassy car on the 26th, smearing it with paint, and the Embassy itself on the 27th and 28, demonstrating and painting slogans on it. The Embassy protests on the 28th and the MPR Foreign Ministry on the 30th. On the 31st, Chinese Embassy personnel in Ulan Bator, 'under the pretext of welcoming Chinese students,' stage an anti-Soviet demonstration at the railway station: the MPR Foreign Ministry protests next day. Mongolian agency MONTSALE on the 13th reports an MPR protest to the Chinese Embassy which 'displayed at its gates an anti-Soviet showcase' and demands that it be withdrawn: it also acknowledges that 'indignant Mongolian citizens' have painted slogans and pasted leaflets on the case! Radio Peking on the 18th reports that 'the Mongolian revisionist ruling clique directed its hooligans' to attack the showcase and break its glass on the 14th and again on the 16th and 17th: the CPR Foreign Ministry protests on the 18th. MPR Foreign Ministry statement on 19th gives its full account of the 'vile provocations.'

C. Notes from the Foreign Ministries of Czechoslovakia (Feb. 3 and 6), Poland and East Germany (6), and Bulgaria (8) protest Peking mob actions in attacking their diplomats, pouring paint and plastering posters on automobiles with an Ambassador inside, tearing his flag off, etc. Radio Budapest says the Hungarian Ambassador's car was again (earlier, on Jan. 27) attacked as late as the 19th, after the demonstrations had presumably ended. And Peking complains that on the 14th East German thugs removed two showcases from its Berlin Embassy.

Chronology Continued

January 31 - February 10: In Bonn on the 31st, Rumania becomes the first East European Communist country to establish full diplomatic relations with West Germany -- while the latter on the same day reasserts in a circular note its claim to be the only legal representative for all Germany. East Germany openly criticizes the Rumanian move in a front-page NEUES DEUTSCHLAND editorial on Feb. 3. A SovGovt note of the 7th returns the Bonn note as 'unacceptable,' but only refers again to its own Jan. 29 note on the dangers of West German neo Nazism and militarism and press observers see it as a mere sop to the East Germans. Meanwhile, a meeting of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers is hurriedly called for East Berlin on the 6th, -- and at the last minute postponed to the 8th and moved to Warsaw, reportedly because the Rumanians refuse to come the Berlin. Moreover, Rumanian Foreign Minister Manescu manages to be in Brussels on the 8th, leaving his deputy as the only representative below Minister level in Warsaw. Polish reporting during the meeting speaks of the 'debates' going on, and the TASS communique states only that 'a friendly exchange of views' was held, esp. on 'the strengthening of peace and security in Europe.' In London on the same day (10), Kosygin, replying to a question if the West German-Rumanian agreement is 'a step in the right direction,' states that 'it is up to the leaders of each state to discuss and take decisions on questions such as this.' Belgrade's BOREA comments on the 15th: 'The conference has given the 'green light' to those members of the Warsaw Pact who are now prepared to establish diplomatic relations with Bonn.'

January 31 and continuing: Both the Chinese and the Soviets continue charges of 'collusion' with U.S. imperialism by the other characteristic items were:

---PEOPLE'S DAILY Commentator on Feb. 2, 'Damned and Filthy Anti-China Lies,' begins:

Of late, U.S. imperialism, the Soviet modern revisionist leading group, and their pawns have gone out of their way to spread rumors, babbling the absurdity that China and the U.S. have reached an 'understanding' and 'tacit agreement' on the Vietnam question. They are spouting the ballyhoo that China has privately 'assured' U.S. imperialism that so long as it observes certain principles, China would prescribe certain limits to its aid to Vietnam in resisting U.S. aggression. This is an utterly dirty lie. It is a new criminal design of imperialism,

revisionism, and all reactionaries in their unholy alliance against China...."

-- KARSNAYA ZVEZDA (Red Star) Feb. 21 article by G. Ushakov, "From Hostility to Collusion," says that many U.S. politicians who recently favored an aggressive course toward China "are now banking on collusion with Mao Tse-tung," while Peking "has already taken a number of important steps showing its readiness for collusion with the most aggressive U.S. circles."

-- PEOPLE'S DAILY Feb. 23 article by 'a group of Peking Red Guards' (paralleling a Jan. 31 WCA release), makes a scathing exposure of how E. Podgorny's visit to Pope Paul VI serves the U.S. aggressors' scheme to 'force peace through bombing' in Vietnam. It concludes

"We warn you, Brezhnev, Kosygin, Podgorny, and company, you new tsars of the Kremlin: traitors never come to a good end. This was true for Kautsky, Bernstein, and Khrushchev; and in the long run you too cannot escape your destiny of being tried by the Soviet people and of total collapse."

Feb. 1: Peking features the 18th anniversary of the founding of the Malayan National Liberation League, with a reception given by P.V. Sarma, representative of the mission of the MLL in China, who says:

"The year 1967 opens with bright prospects in the Malayan people's struggle for national liberation. Throughout 1966 our guerrilla units and people have struck back effectively, despite heavy and sustained attacks by the U.S.-backed British imperialists and the Malayan (Rahman-Kuan Yew) puppets... Our guerrilla zones have expanded and our bases are more consolidated...."

Feb. 2, 3, 5, 9, 19, 22: Soviet media continue to decry Chinese interference with Soviet aid for the Vietnamese war effort. The most noteworthy charges stem from Soviet expert W. Fedorov, who recently returned to Moscow from the DRV, as told to a NOVOSTI agency editor. Prague RUDE PRAVO reports them on the 19th in a CTK dispatch from Moscow and the WASHINGTON POST on the 23rd in a UPI (S. Hensley) article based on an "urgent" NOVOSTI English-language release in Washington. NOVOSTI is quoted as saying:

"For example, the latest Soviet weapons transported by the railway lines of China often just disappear on their way. By chance? Hardly so..

Supersonic fighters are replaced in transit by the Chinese authorities with obsolete and well-worn models adopted in the Army of the CPR....

An installation may arrive in the DRV and cannot be put into action. Why? Because somewhere in China 'curious' Red Guards disassembled it and forgot to return some of the important parts.

Then they resort to the most lowly and crude methods, for instance, removing factory-made trade marks from Soviet military equipment during its transport through China. Thus, Chinese characters instead of Soviet trademarks appear on installations for the DRV's defense....

Feb. 3: Peking releases a statement by the Chinese Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity which denounces the Soviet revisionists for 'manipulating the permanent secretariat of AAPSO arbitrarily to convene a council session in Cyprus,' to 'set aside the resolution adopted by the 4th AAPSO Conference in Winneba on the holding of the 5th conference in Peking,' and solemnly declares:

"China absolutely refuses to participate in this anti-China splittist meeting: this meeting has no right at all to discuss the venue of the 5th conference, and any alteration made to the resolution of the Winneba conference are illegal, null, and void. If the Soviet revisionists insist on going their own way, they must bear the full responsibility for all the serious consequences arising therefrom...."

Feb. 3 & 15: Mao Tse-tung is reported by NCMA as having had 'a truly heart-to-heart talk' on 3rd with the visiting Albanian Party-military delegations (see #10, Jan. 11 and continuing): they reportedly depart on Feb. 7. He also meets a Mauretanian delegation on 15th.

Feb. 4-6: Brezhnev and Andropov (CPSU specialist on inter-party relations) visit the Czech Party in Prague. The communique specifically mentions the security of Europe and the 'Bucharest declaration,' suggesting that it was tied primarily to the problems raised by the Rumanian-West German agreement (see above, Jan. 31 - Feb. 10).

Feb. 6-13: Kosygin pays a good will visit to Britain: he dines with the Queen at the Palace, faces a TV interview, and holds discussions on various international questions, including conditions for a settlement in Vietnam. No major accomplishments are reported but he openly expresses Soviet sympathy for those in the Chinese Party and govt who are struggling against the dictatorial regime of Mao Tse-tung, and approves of the Rumanian-West German agreement. According to some reports he tries and fails to induce Hanoi to make a concrete move toward negotiating with the U.S.

Feb. 7: NYTIMES cites 'American officials' for a report that the USSR has signed 'a military aid agreement worth nearly \$100 million with Iran, a member of the Central Treaty Organization.' Other officials reported that Pakistan, also a CENTO member, 'had within the last month received a shipment of Soviet military trucks and other heavy equipment.'

Radio Bratislava reports that a Czechoslovak youth brigade of more than 100 members, including young designers and metal workers, is departing for 1-year service in Cuba.

Feb. 7 & 14: The Albanians further publicize the purported pro-Chinese Polish and Soviet opposition parties (see Mos. 8-10), tying them together in a Feb. 14 Radio Tirana Polish-language broadcast of "greetings" and "welcome" from the Polish Communist Party to "the true revolutionists, the M-Ls of the great country of the Soviets," signed: "The provisional CC of the Polish Communist Party. Warsaw, January 1967. Czech Party daily RUDE PRAVO on the 7th jokes about the "provisional CC of the Polish CP," its GenSecy Kazimierz Mijal, and its Jan. 24 "exchange of greetings" with Albanian boss Hoxha (#10). RP recalls the "minor diplomatic scandal" when Polish dissident Communist Mijal left Poland last year with an Albanian passport made out in the name of Servet Mehmetka. Speculating that the purported exchange of telegrams might have taken place in the corridor of a building in Tirana, RP says:

"Officially, however, the existence of the 'Polish CP' has been confirmed. Its HQ are in Tirana and it has one member -- actually two in one person -- the Pole Mijal and the Albanian Mehmetka."

Feb. 8: The Soviets again blast ChiCom coddling of capitalists in an IZVESTIYA article by L. Samrilov:

"Today, in Shanghai alone, about 90,000 former proprietors of enterprises are regularly receiving substantial payments from the state. Their children lead a life of luxury..., go to the best restaurants, purchase Hong Kong gramophone records, and dress according to the latest fashion...."

It cites four examples of these "millionaire-parasites."

Italian police in Palermo, Sicily, seize two alleged Maoist Communists in an apartment with 400 sticks of dynamite and a rifle with telescopic sight: the latter was to be used to assassinate PCI GenSecy Longo and foreign specialist Pajetta.

Feb. 9: Albanian Party daily ZERI I POPULLIT editorial describes the Soviet regime's fear of the Chinese CR, extreme measures to keep the Soviet people from learning the truth about it, (including jamming of Chinese broadcasts, barring of Chinese publications, and distortion and slander in its own reporting), and the transparency of its "particular solicitude for the Far East and for areas bordering on the CPR."

Feb. 3, 12, 15, 16: The Japanese CP's struggles with pro-Chicom Japanese dissidents are reflected in AKAHATA articles on these dates, including the expulsion of 10 more members living in Peking (9), a violent raid on a JCP office by "anti-Party dogmatists" -- "political violence similar to the case involving anti-Party terrorism in Peking" (12), a denunciation of the Chinese Students Association in Japan for "unreasonable interference" (16), and a complaint that the staff members of the Chinese Affairs Research Institute, "blindly following the Peking line," have undemocratically and unreasonably expelled 9 members for "obstructing the Sino-Japanese friend-

ship movement" (16). Meanwhile, ASAHI EVENING NEWS on the 10th reports that "spokesmen for a group of Communist organizations opposing the JCP told newsmen in Tokyo on Thursday that they have formed a new political group, the Communist Workers Party. Although some members of the pro-Soviet dissident JCP (Voice of Japan) attended, Yoshio Shiga did not participate because "talks are expected to be held between the JCP and the Soviet CP."

Feb. 10, 11, 13, 17, 18, 23: TASS and Soviet Radios in Moscow and Tashkent keep up a steady barrage on Chinese persecution of national minorities and Moslems, in English worldwide, in Arabic to the Arab world, and in Uighur to Singkiang: the usual device is testimony by persons who escaped from the Chinese "prison for small peoples."

Feb. 10-11: The World Peace Council Secretariat meets in Budapest, without Chinese member Li Shao-pao, although LTI says that he was invited. A TASS report of the press conference says: "The WPC demands that Chinese authorities immediately stop the hostile actions against the Soviet Govt."

Feb. 13-16: The Council of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) meets in Cyprus, primarily to consider a Soviet-supported move to change the venue of AAPSO's Fifth Conference from Peking (decided at the 1965 Conference in Winneba, Ghana) to Algiers. The Chinese do not participate officially, though they are represented by a group of "PCNA correspondents" who -- TASS complains -- campaigned actively against the Soviets, distributing literature, monopolizing press conferences, etc. Nevertheless, an "overwhelming majority" (TASS) votes to hold the 5th Conference in Algiers in 1967, whereupon Peking denounces this "open split" and announces that it will hold the true 5th Conference in Peking, claiming a joint statement of support by "four African members of AAPSO." Among the resolutions produced is one hailing the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Feb. 14 & 17: Tokyo KYODO on the 14th reports an article in the Peking Aviation Institute's organ RED FLAG scathingly denouncing JCP SecyGen Miyamoto as an "idiot," and a "Soviet-style revisionist."

Feb. 21: NCNA Peking publicizes a statement of the "Afro-Asian Writers Bureau" strongly condemning the Soviet revisionists and a handful of their followers at the recent Nicosia splittist meeting for illegally rejecting the resolution ... to hold the 5th Conference in Peking this year, and for openly splitting the Afro-Asian peoples' movement of solidarity against imperialism.

Feb. 15: NCNA Peking reports a reception by the Afro-Asian Journalists Association (AAJA) and the All-China JA "to celebrate the successful conclusion of the third Afro-Asian course in journalism.... Students came from Azania, SW Africa, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Ceylon. Djawoto, GenSecy of AAJA, spoke.... Present...were Afro-American leader Robert Williams, American friend Sidney Rittenberg, and Sudanese friend Ahmed Mohammed Kheir, all of whom had given lectures to the course...."

Feb. 16: PRAVDA attacks the Maoists in a major editorial, "On the Anti-Soviet Policy of Mao Tse-tung and His Group."

After denouncing the Chinese "provocations," the "outrages in Peking," and appeals to the Soviet people "to overthrow the existing system" and "hoist the banner of Mao Tse-tung in Red Square," PRAVDA asks "why?" and answers that they are "striving to provoke the SU into rupturing relations in order to deceive world public opinion, to deceive the Chinese people...." Asking "what goals is it pursuing?" PRAVDA says: "the Chinese leaders regard the CPSU as the main obstacle to their great-power goals. Asking "where will Mao Tse-tung's group move?" P says: "Everything shows that it is preparing the CPR for further adventuristic actions in both domestic and foreign policy, actions which also do not exclude new provocations against the SU." It closes with an appeal to China to rejoin "the ranks of the socialist community."

A Chinese note to Tunisia, pegged to comments made by Foreign Minister Habib Bourguiba Jr. in the Feb. 8 issue of Tunisian newspaper AL-AMAL and a recent agricultural cooperation agreement with Taiwan, declares: "These words and deeds of the Tunisian Govt and its leaders constitute a gross interference in China's internal affairs, a flagrant provocation against the Chinese people, and an extremely grave step to deliberately sabotage normal relations between China and Tunisia."

Feb. 17 & 23: NYTIMES correspondent Binder on the 17th and London OBSERVER writer Lederer on the 23rd cite evidence of a power struggle in Albania, with "slogans, bulletin posters, caricatures, wall newspapers" and other Red Guard trappings, purges in the offing, etc.

Feb. 18: TASS reports: "KOMSONOLSKAYA PRAVDA today publishes a letter written by an 18-year-old Chinese schoolboy which depicts the tragedy which millions of Chinese citizens are experiencing during the so-called DR." It tells how Red Guard persecution and beating drove his parents finally to suicide. "During the period of beatings, dozens and even hundreds of people were killed every day. Cars were filled with corpses. ... The hospitals did not dare to help those who had been beaten to death (sic)."

Feb. 19: Peking posters attack N. Korean President Kim Il-song as a "revisionist" and "Khrushchev's disciple."

Feb. 20: A 4-part PRAVDA theoretical article by I. Pomelov defends the "leading role of a M-L party" against both erosion from the right (obviously aimed against Yugoslav and other European trends) and Maoist undermining and attack from the left. On the former:

... Any lowering of the role of the party and the restriction of its functions -- for example, solely to the sphere of ideology -- would be completely inadmissible and harmful for the cause of socialism. What would the implementation of the line of 'noninterference' of the

party in politics and economy mean in practice? It would mean leaving the development of the new society to run itself and giving a large role to chance...."

Referring to "Mao Tse-tung's one-man rule -- a regime of personal dictatorship," it says: "The Communist Party alone can and must guide all state and social organizations, including the army and the state security organs...."

Feb. 21-24: Italian CP/CC meets in Rome, following weeks of increasingly sharp criticism of the ChiComs and defense of the Soviets in PCI media and in a Feb. 10 statement by the Directorate. Berlinguer (who headed a mission to Hanoi via Peking late 1966) proposes full support for world CP conference, which can no longer be subordinated to the question of Chinese participation. However, after heavy opposition from four prominent veterans headed by Ingrao and a conciliatory statement by SecyGen Longo, they adopt a resolution which says only that "the essential question among all others is that of working to reinforce the unity of the ICM in the common struggle against imperialism and for peace, on the basis of the indications contained in Comrade Berlinguer's report and Comrade Longo's speech...." Elsewhere the resolution simply notes that the CC approved Berlinguer's report.

Feb. 22: As quoted by Peking CTK, two rebel dailies report Chen Yi as saying to a Red Guards meeting in Sian, capital of the northwest province of Shensi, on Feb. 5:

"The problem of the Soviet Union could develop, diplomatic relations with the USSR could be broken off, and war could break out. In such a case you will be in the front line...."

Feb. 22-26: An Editing Commission to prepare material for the conference of European Communist and workers parties on European security meets in Warsaw in secrecy: the TASS announcement of its conclusion says only that it "discussed and worked out draft documents which will be turned over for the consideration of C and W parties of Europe" and that the conference will be held in Karlovy Vary, Czechoslovakia, April 24-27, 1967. Polish PAP agency says that 19 parties were represented: reported absences are Rumania, Yugoslavia, Albania, Sweden, Norway, Iceland, and the Netherlands.

Feb. 23: TASS summarizes a KOMMUNIST article, "'CR' in China and Petit Bourgeois Adventurism," by G. Shakhnazarov, who says: "The main cause of the present events in China is petit bourgeois 'revolutionism', which in detail almost coincides with the slogans of Trotsky and his followers."

Feb. 25: Radio Bratislava says that, beginning March 1, Radio Moscow will extend its broadcasts to China to 24 hours a day.

Hungarian Party boss Kadar and two aides fly to Moscow on an "unofficial, friendly visit."

Feb. 26: North Korean officials abroad call press conferences (Algiers and New Delhi reported thus far) to deny and denounce recent Chinese attacks on N. Korea (apparently still reacting to the Jan. 26 incident and not yet aware of the above Feb. 19 attack). The Chinese themselves have fallen into revisionism, and their attacks are absurd.... (They) do not like N. Korea's policy of independence.

1105.

THE CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE: ANOTHER
25X1C1 EXAMPLE OF COMMUNIST MISUSE OF RELIGION

* * * * *

"Among the many 'anti-war' campaigns originating in Eastern Europe, perhaps none better displays the classic exploitation of religion for one side's definition of peace than the movement known as the Christian Peace Conference.... This conference is a thoroughgoing transmission belt for Communist peace propaganda engaged in mobilizing religious support within the Eastern bloc for Soviet foreign policy. It also reaches out to Western Churchmen through its subsidized publications in English, German, and French...." -- AMERICA (the Jesuit weekly newsmagazine), 18 December 1965.

SITUATION: The Christian Peace Conference (CPC) has announced in its latest INFORMATION BULLETIN that the Third All-Christian Peace Assembly (ACPA) will be held a year from now (31 March - 5 April 1968) in Prague. The CPC has its Headquarters in Prague, and the First and Second ACPA's were held in that city in 1961 and 1964. These assemblies have been the highlights of the activities of the CPC, which was established in Modra, Czechoslovakia, in 1957.

Between assemblies, however, the CPC has not been idle. Its first formal meeting in Prague in 1958 was attended mostly by representatives from churches in Communist countries along with a few individuals from West Germany and South Africa. The Working Committee set up at this meeting decided in 1959 to publish a quarterly periodical entitled CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE (see the attached article from the January 1966 issue which quotes the "Report of the Working Group: Peace Service of the Young Generation" from the 13-17 October 1965 session of the CPC Advisory Committee which met in Budapest).

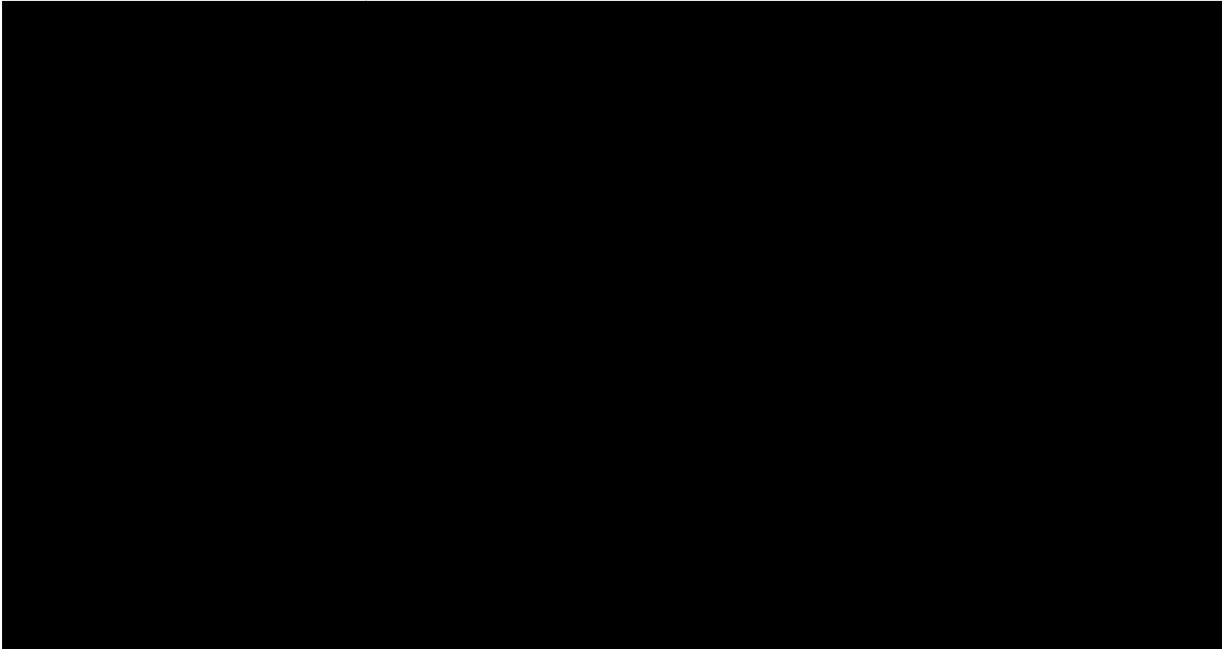
Since then, the CPC has attempted to gain support from churchmen in the less-developed nations, particularly in Africa, as well as in the Western nations. It has also been active in espousing a "dialogue" between Christians of the East and West. However attractive the idea of contributing to world peace through a "Christian dialogue" may seem, the fact is that the

CPC is a Communist-sponsored, -staffed, and -financed mechanism created to help organize and conduct the Soviet peace campaign. One indication of this Communist sponsorship is the sites chosen to hold the various CPC committee meetings: the CPC Working Committee will next meet in Bucharest 18-23 September to plan for the Third ACFA, based on proposals made at the CPC Advisory Committee meeting in Sofia.

Meanwhile, the CPC International Secretariat which met last December in Czechoslovakia investigated the "possibilities for organizing a church conference on a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war." The Secretariat also discussed entering into negotiations with the World Council of Churches in Geneva; consulting with African, Latin American, and Asian theologians; cooperating with the Conference of European Churches and with the Society of Friends (Quakers); and ways for mutual consultations and cooperation with Roman Catholics.

Attached is a reproduction of the December 1966 CPC INFORMATION BULLETIN which contains a "Calendar of Dates for 1967" listing the conferences in which the CPC plans to participate. Also attached is an unclassified fact sheet about the CPC which describes its past history and its leadership.

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CPC cannot be reconciled with its call for "violent revolution" against any government that "misuses its authority." (Fuller details on this are included in the attached 1966 Report of the Theological Group and the 1965 Report of the Working Group.)

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN -- The Third World, particularly African Christians, may become the object of an "intellectual catalyst" as a result of the CPC pronouncement on revolutionary violence -- unless the so-called "peace" proposals of the Prague group are put in proper perspective.

CHRISTIAN CENTURY -- Exploitation of youth and students to further Communist propaganda about Vietnam, guerrilla warfare in Latin America, Sino-Soviet differences, and other key subjects were brought out into the open at the CPC meeting in East Germany.

NEW YORK TIMES -- Claims by CPC President Josef Hromadka on his recent visit to the United States have been decidedly refuted by the late eminent Swiss Protestant theologian Emil Brunner, who argued that Christian cooperation with the so-called "religion" of Communism was impossible.

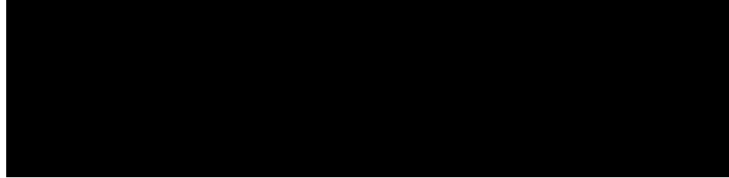
The CPC is, of course, only one of many fronts which are exploited by Communists the world over to dictate their own terms for "peace" -- at the present moment in Vietnam and at other times in the trouble spots of Europe, Africa, and Latin America. Whenever opportunity presents itself, we encourage assets to show how such fronts exploit religious groups by either outright direction (as in the case of churches in Communist countries) or infiltration in groups abroad. Another group to watch in this regard is the Berlin Conference of Catholic Christians (which held its second conclave in East Berlin in March 1966).

Since most Communist "peace" campaigns are subordinated to the major activities of the World Peace Council (WPC), we watch for any WPC orchestration of efforts among the CPC, the Academy of Islamic Research, and Communist-influenced Buddhist groups. Where proposals are made for front meetings outside Communist territory, we recall that the WPC has always sought to give its meetings an air of respectability by holding them in neutral capitals such as Stockholm, Helsinki, and Geneva, and we suggest that prospective hosts adopt the same policy announced by the Swiss Government on 15 July 1966: the WPC is no longer allowed to stage meetings in Switzerland because the previous month it had carried on militant political activity in Geneva and had attacked foreign governments instead of truly seeking means for establishing world peace.

1106

MOSCOW ADVANCES IN AAPSO

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SITUATION: The Council Session in Nicosia, Cyprus (13-16 February) of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) resulted in a de facto split of the Afro-Asian "solidarity" movement. The crucial issue, and the subject of contention between the Soviets and Chicoms, was the site of the next AAPSO Conference. The last Conference, held in 1965 in Winneba, Ghana, had scheduled it for Peking but this decision had been strongly opposed by the Soviets in the meantime. The Indians, in particular, and some African member organizations took the position that they would not attend if the Conference were to be held in China.

Chicoms Officially Do Not Attend

The Chicoms decided not to send delegates to the Nicosia Council session -- originally to be hosted by Tanzania in September 1966 but "postponed" and later "disinvited" by the Tanzanians -- probably not wanting an open confrontation with the Soviets and their allies at an AAPSO meeting which clearly had been engineered by the Soviets and was obviously to be controlled by them. (The Chicoms had steadily lost ground in the AAPSO Council since the departure for Peking of the Indonesian member following the Indonesian coup in 1965.) The Chicoms' refusal to send a delegation was accompanied by the release of a statement a week in advance of the meeting which spoke of Nicosia as an "anti-Chinese, splittist" meeting to set aside the Winneba decision to hold the 5th Conference in Peking in 1967.

"The Invisible Delegation"

Chicoms were however present at Nicosia in the guise of journalists (NCNA correspondents). They were extremely active behind the scenes -- distributing anti-Soviet material, lodging protests rather than merely asking questions at press conferences, etc., and most probably also advising and directing pro-Chinese delegations from Africa such as those from Botswana, Southwest Africa, Swaziland. The organizational committee disposed of the opposition by recognizing the pro-Soviet element where more than one delegation from one country claimed membership. Thus, for instance, the Southwest Africa Union (SWANU) was expelled (as were the pro-Chicom delegations from Botswana and Swaziland) as "not representative"

and the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was accepted as a new member; the pro-Soviet AAPSO committee from Japan, headed by Minoru Ito, and that from Ceylon, headed by Abd al-Aziz, were confirmed; new members from Guinea, Singapore, Gabon, and elsewhere were accepted -- leaving the Chicoms to protest that the Soviet revisionists arbitrarily accepted the "splittists" while rejecting anti-imperialist, nationalist organizations.

New Site: Algiers; Peking Side Show

The change of venue for the 5th Conference was apparently proposed by the leader of the Mongolian delegation, who (according to TASS) pointed out that the present situation in China made it impossible to hold the Conference in Peking. An "overwhelming majority" (TASS) later voted to hold the 5th Conference in Algiers in 1967. The Chicoms, for their part, have announced that the 5th Conference will take place in Peking this year. NCNA has also said that delegations of four African members of AAPSO and "an organization of the African liberation movement" in a joint statement supported the convening of the 5th Conference in Peking, and Radio Peking has broadcast some instances of support for a Peking meeting given prior to the Nicosia meeting. But on 20 February Radio Peking all but admitted defeat on the question of venue: it stated that the arbitrary overthrow of the decision of the 4th AAPSO Conference at Winneba had brought about "an open split" in the movement of the Afro-Asian people's solidarity "against imperialism".

The careful wording would seem to suggest that, for the moment, the Chicoms do not wish to force an outright split-up of the AAPS Organization per se. It will be recalled that in a similar situation, they split the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau (AAWB) without hesitation: in a Soviet-engineered "extraordinary" meeting in Cairo last June, the AAWB secretariat was transferred from Colombo to Cairo and the Chicoms subsequently announced the transfer of the AAWB executive secretariat to Peking, implying a continued existence of the Colombo secretariat -- a face-saving device which hardly could conceal the heavy Chicom loss. AAPSO's Cairo secretariat remains intact as does, de jure, the organization but the once-balanced Soviet-Chicom influence has shifted dramatically toward the Soviet side. This phenomenon is the more striking and significant since on previous occasions, particularly on the Afro-Asian governmental level, the Chicoms had taken the position that the U.S.S.R. is not an Asian nation. (This comparative "reticence" does not imply that Peking is "softening", but rather that it is preoccupied with troubles at home and is biding its time for an improved international situation.) The shift to Soviet predominance in AAPSO may mean that, while in the short term internal clashes can be minimized or subdued, the long-term stability and cohesion of AAPSO have been further jeopardized. On the other hand, it would also seem that the Soviets have made considerable progress in Nicosia toward accomplishing their plans for a merger of AAPSO with the Afro-Asian-Latin American People's Solidarity

Organization (AALAPSO) which convened in Havana last January; and the Chicoms' plan for retaining AAPSO as a separate entity has been much weakened. (Osmany Cienfuegos, secretary general of AALAPSO, who attended as observer referred to the active preparations which are under-way for the 2nd Tri-Continental Conference and declared that a tri-continental strategy is required to oppose the enemy's forces.)

Resolutions: Vietnam Overshadows All Other Issues

The head of the Soviet delegation, P.T. Pimenov, stated that three revolutionary forces -- world socialism, the national liberation movement, and the international labor movement -- are assuming paramount importance. The political commission adopted a resolution on Vietnam ("the most pressing problem") which denounces the "barbarous crimes" of American imperialism against the Vietnamese people and mankind, supports the four-point stand of the DRV and the five-point stand of the NLFSV, demands an immediate end to the bombing and all other aggressive actions against the DRV, and urges AAPSO's affiliates to begin on 13 March a month of solidarity with the Vietnamese people's struggle and a collection of donations for the Vietnamese people's aid fund. It also urges the affiliates to take all possible steps, jointly with other mass (i.e. front) organizations, to prevent the transportation of American military equipment to Vietnam. (Note in this contest that the Chicoms claim that at Nicosia the delegates of the DRV and of the NLFSV supported the Winneba decision for the 5th Conference to be held in Peking; the Soviets are silent on this question.)

The general declaration expresses uncompromising opposition to imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism. The declaration emphasizes that the people of Asia and Africa are not alone: with them is the "great camp" of the socialist countries, the "embattled peoples" of Latin America and the international "democratic" movements. It also demands the liquidation of foreign bases in alien territories.

Collaboration with World Peace Council (WPC)

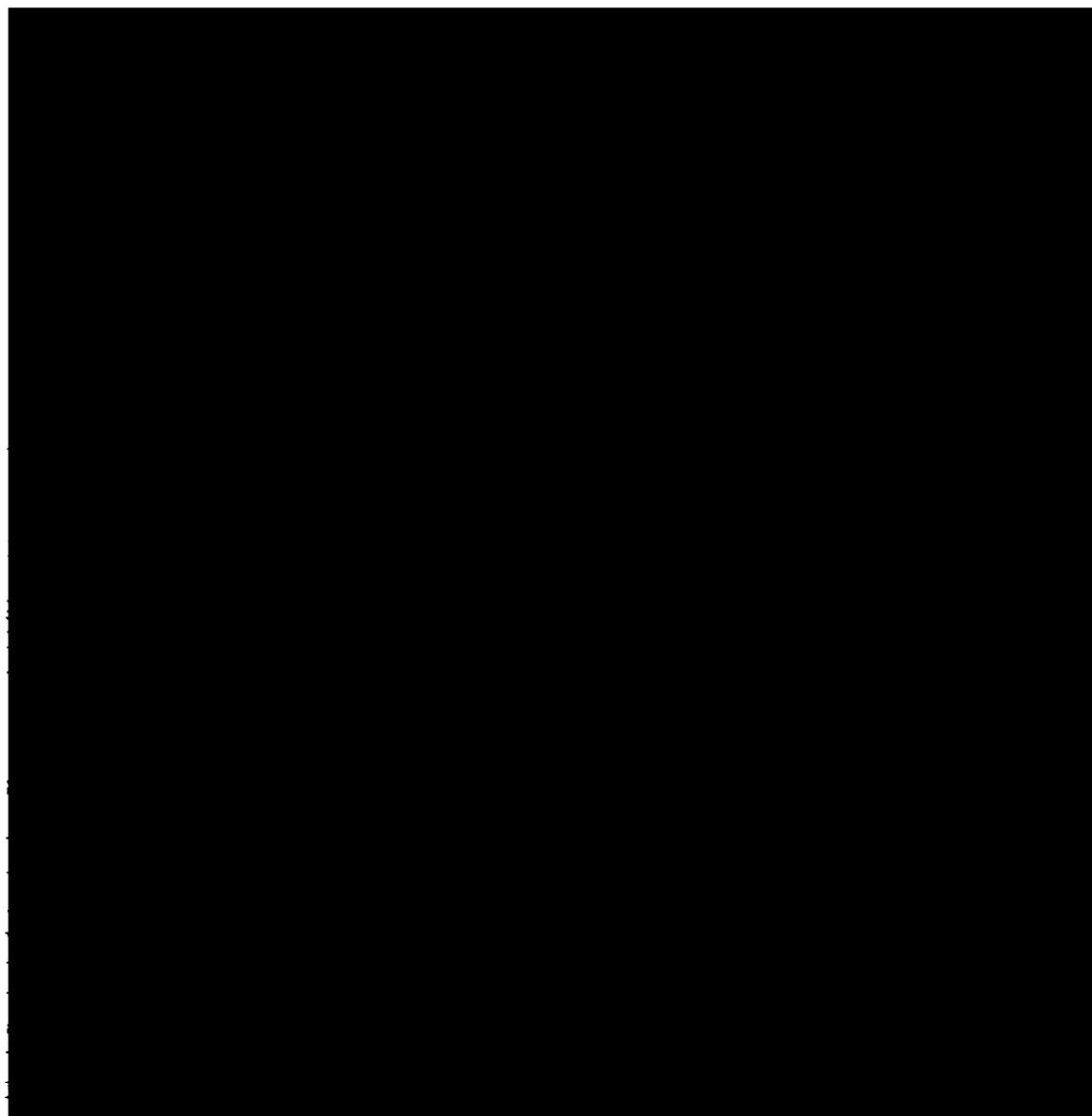
Some two dozen special resolutions were passed including one on the role and significance of the "spirit of Tashkent"; and one expressing the Afro-Asian peoples' support of the WPC-organized International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies, Zambabwe, and Southwest Africa.

Tribute to Anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution

Given the Soviet control, it was not too surprising that the session also passed a special resolution on the 50th Anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, saying inter alia that it marked a turning point in the history of the national liberation movement and ushered in a new era in world history. The Chicoms, on the other hand, were left to

complain that their flag was not included among the flags of the AAPSO member nations outside the meeting hall and that the Soviet revisionists had spread innumerable lies to malign China's great proletarian cultural revolution. (See also BPG 209, item #1096, dated 13 Feb. '67; BPG 196, item #1048, dated 1 Aug. '66.)

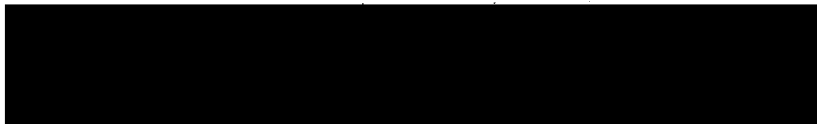
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CHINESE COMMUNIST RULE IN TIBET

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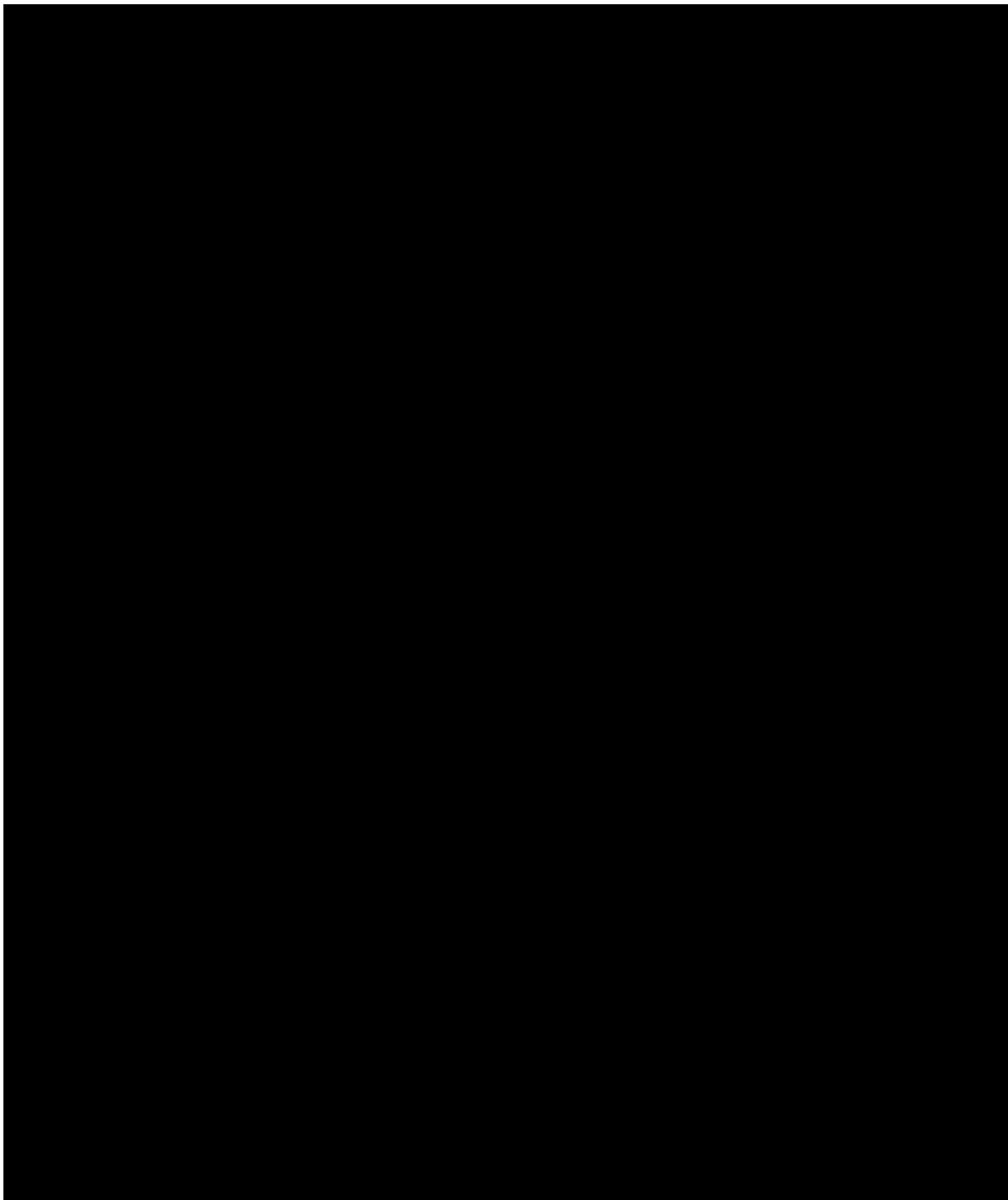
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SITUATION: (UNCLASSIFIED) With the possible exception of scholars or mountaineers Tibet was of little concern to the outside world until 1950 when the Chinese Communists moved to gobble up the small country claiming it as Chinese territory. Actually Tibet is a centuries-old civilization whose people first appeared in history in the 7th century B.C. In the 13th century Genghis Khan's Mongol hordes poured over the country and five centuries later the Chinese under the Manchus occupied Lhasa thus establishing what China's masters today consider a firm basis for their claim to Tibet as Chinese territory.

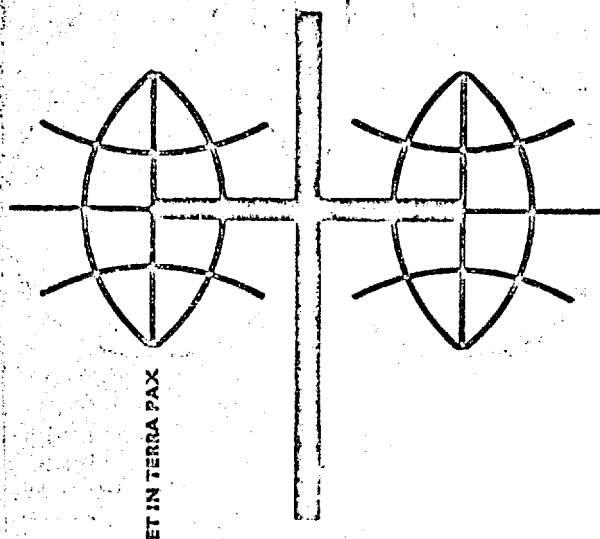
Tibetans emerged into the 20th century ethnically and linguistically unique despite all the great peoples that have surrounded and invaded their mountain stronghold -- they are neither Mongol, nor Chinese, nor Slavic, nor European. And although they were converted to Buddhism, they placed their own hallmark on Buddha's teachings which gradually developed into Lamaism with all spiritual and temporal power centered about the person of the Dalai Lama who is now in exile in India where he fled in 1959 to escape the threat of death or at least captivity at the hands of the Chinese Communists.

Chinese Communist troops invaded Tibet in October 1950, and by 1951 China had taken over the reins of Tibetan foreign policy with the Dalai Lama nominally continuing as spiritual and temporal ruler. After eight years of iron rule the Chinese Communists brutally crushed a short-lived Tibetan rebellion, and began the systematic dismembering of Tibet's national, ethnic, cultural and linguistic character. Thousands of Tibetans were deported and unwilling Chinese were shipped into the far reaches of Tibet; the inter-marriage of Tibetan and Chinese was enforced, property was confiscated, leading Tibetans were executed, and the commune system was introduced.

In 1966 all pretense that religious freedom was permitted in Tibet was completely dropped. Chou En-lai announced that 90% of the lamas had been stripped of their priesthood and rampaging Red Guards sacked the Lhasa Cathedral. In January 1967 the remnants of a sacred statue dating back to the 7th century were found in the sewers of Lhasa where they had lain since the sacking of the Cathedral. These remnants were smuggled out of Tibet to India where they were an effective centerpiece for a press conference held by the Dalai Lama's representative in New Delhi. The theme of the press conference was Communist China's relentless effort to erase Tibet's centuries-old civilization, religion, and way of life. (End UNCLASSIFIED)



Extract from pages 33-35



CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

17-18 JANUARY 1966

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(from the issue devoted to the meeting of the Advisory Committee for Continuation of the Work of the Christian Peace Conference in Budapest, 13-17 October 1965)

Report of the Working Group: Peace Service of the Young Generation

The Working Group "Peace Service of the Young Generation", on the basis of the general theme of the Advisory Committee meeting, discussed many aspects of the question of revolution and status quo. This was the result of considering the necessity for Christians in the developed, industrialized countries to be in solidarity with Christians in the poorer, developing countries and with all oppressed peoples.

In the course of our discussions we found it necessary to make a number of comments on the phenomenon of revolution. It was stressed that we must have a proper understanding of real revolution as it relates to the long-term process of radical humanization and that a mere coup d'état or seizure of power does not constitute a real revolution. It might be said that the radical humanization of society would itself be revolutionary.

Just as it is essential that we distinguish between real and false revolution, so must we distinguish between real and false peace efforts. Many people and movements who say "peace, peace" in fact do not contribute to the building of peace, because they do not work for a change or development of the structures of society in the perspective of world solidarity, which is the condition of real peace. In the same way, not every movement or person that calls itself revolutionary is in fact so.

One of the problems discussed but not resolved was that of our attitude toward revolutions that occur in situations and among people where the level of education and social and economic development is not sufficient to maintain the revolution without great difficulties and hardship. At the same time, we recognize our responsibility to prepare for and educate for revolution and involvement in it. It can be said that this involvement in revolution and participation in the building of one's own society may lead to political, social and economic maturity.

Our discussions also led to consideration of the very new problems created by the developments in technology, communications and destructive weaponry which all add to the power of the developed countries and increase the gap between them and the poorer countries, strengthening the controls over them. The very technological advances which should free men may in fact be used as another source of control over men and of increased institutionalization and dehumanization. (This problem requires further study and discussion.)

One of the most difficult areas of discussion was that of the threat of nuclear war and the necessity for revolution. The discussions hinged upon the question of peace and justice. Is peace in the world today, at the

international level, a prerequisite to justice, a necessary context for justice, or could peace be achieved only as a consequence of justice? This is the crucial problem, both as it relates to wars of national liberation and to revolutions for economic justice. It seems that the highly developed countries are concerned with the maintenance of peace primarily as the absence of international war, while the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are mainly concerned with change and revolution.

It was concern for all of the above questions that led us to ask many times: What is the peculiar role and responsibility of Christians in and for revolution and the building of a better society? This assumes that Christians do have a responsibility for being involved and that they have a unique role. As Christians they are compelled "to render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's". Solidarity in this connection is always with those in need of support for their efforts to make human life fully human. It was observed as well that the Gospel itself is a revolutionary message and force, but that the institutions and the structures which present this message may be often conservative and even reactionary.

In trying to define this peculiar role and responsibility of Christians we would like to emphasize that we always live in the tension between the "already" and the "not yet". Therefore we must be constantly aware of the eschatological perspective when involved in the intimate moment of history. This perspective does not remove us from revolution but enables us to play a more creative and critical role in revolutionary situations. In this sense, to be involved in continuous revolution is a basic part of the understanding of Christian life. In the same way we are enabled not only to react to crisis situations but to anticipate necessary changes within the movement of history. Therefore a major Christian contribution to peace-making should be involvement and action for peace and justice prior to crisis.

Recommendations

In the light of the previous work of the Youth Commission and our own discussions, the working group makes the following recommendations:

(1) We neither desire nor intend for the Youth Commission to become a new institution but we do wish it to play a creative role on the world scene as a channel and sorting house for peace actions and as a stimulant of peace-making through the work of its members. To achieve this we would encourage the support by the International Secretariat of the work of the Youth Commission or even the appointment of a permanent secretary for the Youth Commission.

(2) All participants in the work of the C.P.C. should accept and fulfill their responsibility for carrying forward to their organizations and churches in their own countries the concerns, questions, and proposals of the C.P.C. itself.

(3) Members of the Youth Commission should be delegated to attend meetings and conferences such as, and including;

- (a) The Congress of the Union of Latin American Evangelical Youth, Puerto Rico, August 1966.
- (b) The World Conference of the World Council of Churches on Church and Society, Geneva, July 1966.
- (c) The Hemispheric Consultation for North and South America organized by the World Student Christian Federation, summer 1966.
- (d) Religious Leaders' Conference for Peace, U.S.A., 1966.
- (e) Consultation on Asian Problems, Tokyo, 1966 or 1967.

The Presidium of the Youth Commission should be consulted on these matters.

(4) The Youth Commission should be represented at the meetings of the other commissions of the C.P.C.

BALTIMORE SUN
23 February 1967

Church Council Held Red Target

'Peace Conference' In Prague Reported A Communist Front

By PAUL W. WARD

(Washington Bureau of The Sun)

Washington, Feb. 22—An international Communist-front organization is trying to get the World Council of Churches to help it persuade Christian clergymen they are duty-bound to champion "violent revolution."

So it was learned here today when there became available a document showing that the organization also seeks to enlist the support of those clergymen in non-Communist countries for two doctrines that are taboo in Communist-held lands.

One is a doctrine of "conscientious objection" and consequent refusal to bear arms in any war. The other is a thesis calling for "violent revolution" against any government that "misuses its authority."

Peace Assembly

The organization conducting the campaign—and planning an "All-Christian Peace Assembly" to that end—has its headquarters in Czechoslovakia's capital and calls itself "The Christian Peace Conference."

The document disclosing its purposes was turned up by Dr. Walter H. Judd, who was a medical missionary under the auspices of the Congregational Church in China for ten years ending in 1938.

He subsequently served Minnesota for 20 years as a Republican member of the House of Representatives here, retiring at the end of 1962. He is now an editor of the American Security Council's weekly report on "national and international developments affecting the nation's security."

Headed By Banker

The council, a private organization, claims more than 3,500 "member companies and institutions" and has a 23-member "national strategy committee" headed by Robert W. Galvin, a Chicago banker, and including three retired admirals and four retired generals.

Dr. Judd, who also broadcasts for the council over a network of 900 American radio stations, displayed a seven-page "information bulletin" sent out from Prague by the "Christian Peace Conference."

He called the latter "a world Communist-front organization" bent on spreading a doctrine that "a good Christian is one who participates in revolutions to overthrow non-Communist, that is, free governments."

The organization's own bulletin detailed plans not only for an "All-Christian Peace Assembly in Prague from March 31 to April 5, 1968" but also for several preliminary meetings in other parts of the world, including:

A "consultation in Latin America" to be held in either Cuba or Mexico next September.

A "consultation with Asian brethren" plus a "regional conference" in Japan next November.

Also Scheduled

Also on the schedule are an "International Secretariat" meeting May 9 to 12 in Poland to be followed by one in the Soviet Union from June 29 to July 5 plus a meeting of a "working committee," beginning in Prague today and a "preparatory commission" meeting in Romania's capital September 18 through 23.

The latter is to devise "basic ideas," the bulletin says, for five "standing study commissions of the movement," including one on "peace service of the youth" that is to meet somewhere in Britain April 3 to 7.

In addition, according to the bulletin, the "International Secretariat" at Prague is investigating "the possibilities for organizing a church conference on a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam war" and trying to "enter into negotiations with the World Council of Churches in Geneva."

"Plans for consultations with African, Latin American and Asian theologians were also discussed," the bulletin says, and proposals made by the "international Secretariat" for "cooperation with the conference of European churches and with the Society of Friends (Quakers)."

Peaceful Solution

Referring to "preparations for the fourth general assembly of the World Council of Churches," the bulletin also says the "International Secretariat . . . proposes that possibilities be sought for active participation in these preparations as regards the responsibility of Christians for the establishment of the premises for a peaceful solution to the grave problems of the present day."

The bulletin then quotes at length from an "advisory committee" report, drafted at a meeting in Sofia, Bulgaria:

"We Christians are being asked today by many people—and especially by our brethren in South America—whether they are permitted, indeed, whether they are even positively commanded, to take part in violent attempts to overthrow the government. . .

Two Doctrines

"The advisory committee in Budapest in 1965 answered this question in the affirmative. This same question was also posed with great urgency at the 'church and society' conference in Geneva in 1966."

Therefore, the report concludes, a "theological study of the problem" has been made which, in turn, has singled out "two traditional Christian doctrines (that) can help us to build a bridge between the teaching of the New Testament and the theological understanding so necessary today."

The report identifies one as "the frequently overlooked doctrine of the right and obligation to resist . . . a government which misuses its authority."

"Just War" Theory

"Whoever resists," it adds, "is at the same time bound to work out a program for taking over power . . . at this point, resistance passes over into revolution."

The second "doctrine" is identified as "the frequently abused theory of the just war."

"This theory," the report adds, "ought to correspond to that of the just revolution."

"The idea of revolution appeared for a long time to be impermissible to the majority of Christians," the report also says, adding: "It is impossible . . . to state casuistically certain rules which would establish under what conditions violent revolution could be employed."

Witnessing To Peace

It also remarks approvingly that "the major confessional churches in Europe are beginning to disassociate themselves from an all too ill-considered and ingenuous policy of support for the use of force by the state in the preparation and execution of war." With like approval, it notes that "conscripts in different countries are witnessing to peace through conscientious objection."

But, it adds, "support for non-violence should not be allowed to justify the status quo," for "revolution necessarily involves the use of force."

It also asserts admonitorily that "it certainly cannot be avoided that the upholders of an unjust social order have their civil rights withheld from them for a certain time after the success of the revolution."

'THE GUARDIAN

February 16 1967

NEW FRONTIERS OF REVOLUTION

CPYRIGHT

by Christopher Driver

A DOCUMENT published today in the quarterly "Frontier" reveals that in Sofia last October a group of Christian thinkers from several confessions and a dozen different countries went farther than anyone since John Wycliffe's time to provide a theological justification for revolutionary violence.

This revolutionary cabal, strangely enough, was the Theological Commission of the Christian Peace Conference. The CPC is an ecumenical organisation, independent of the World Council of Churches, which was launched in Prague

Iron Curtain countries, it has since attracted Western European and American participation, and has greatly stimulated the growing philosophical dialogue between Christians and Marxists.

Members of the Theological Commission include the young Orthodox Metropolitan Nikodim of Leningrad, together with theologians from France, the US, Britain, and India. Their report, "The Just Revolution," was drafted jointly by a West and an East German. It was produced in response to the World Council of Churches "Church and

1966, which raised (without answering) several questions about the Christian attitude to revolution. It begins:

"We Christians are being asked today by many people, and especially by our brethren in South America, whether they are permitted—indeed, whether they are not even positively commanded—to take part in violent attempts to overthrow the Government. They point out that in most South American States the ruling system results, on a yearly average, in more deaths through hunger or inadequate medical care than was the case in the Second World War. We owe them an answer."

A LITERAL understanding of the New Testament, the theologians say, gives little to go on, mainly because the early Church expected all the prevailing forms of government to be brought to a speedy end by the Second Coming. But the hope derived from Christ requires Christians "to reflect theologically about the necessity of revolution in relation to inhuman social situations." Bridges between the New Testament and contemporary society might be found in "the frequently overlooked doctrine of the right and obligation to resist a Government which misuses its authority" and "the frequently abused theory of the just war."

For a long time, says the document, the majority of Christians "consciously or unconsciously equated the *status quo* with the will of God," an attitude which made God into "an idol who is supposed to guarantee the continuance of the present state of affairs." And because the Church often presents a static understanding of the rôle of man in creation, progress in science and technology, and the social transformation bound up in it, appears to disturb the eternal order.

"The major confessional Churches in Europe are beginning to dissociate themselves from ill-considered and ingenuous support for the use of force by the State in the preparation and execution of war." But "revolution necessarily involves the use of force, because the

existing social relationships represent structures of power which, for their part, use force in the most varied forms to maintain the *status quo*." Support for nonviolence should not be allowed to justify the *status quo* of oppression by force, though the use of armed force in a revolution can be only the last resort. A situation must also have arisen in which people are being hurt to a larger extent by the activity or lack of activity of the oppressor than would be the case in a violent revolution.

THE NEW secretary-general of the World Council of Churches, Dr Eugene Carson Blake, who is holding his first English press conference in London today, did not have this document by him when I saw him last week. But he is certainly sympathetic to the ideas it contains. "Africans and Asians," he said to me, "take it hard when they are faced with violently supported injustice in Rhodesia and we tell them they must be pacifist in that situation."

In Western Europe, of course, the Churches were largely cured of their traditional pietistic conservatism by Hitler and his "German Christians." But the Third World presents the same tension in a freshly articulated form. For African Christians in particular, so often torn two ways by their mission school upbringings and the demands of nationalism, the Sofia report may well become an intellectual catalyst. But it depends, nevertheless, on several unstated (and perhaps rather naïve) assumptions about the political character of a "just social order." As it stands, for instance, Mr Ian Smith might be only too happy to claim the Sofia thesis as justification for his own rebellion (which he likes to call "Christian") against the British Crown. Which is not what the Christian Peace Conference intended.

["Frontier" is obtainable from 34 Brook Street, London W 1, price 5s 6d.]

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

NOVEMBER 2, 1966

CPYRGHT

Christian Peace

Conference's Youth

on Record

CPYRGHT

A Real Life Vietcong!

To some people, some nations, the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam is a gang of terrorists seeking to overthrow the legitimate government. To other people, other nations, it is the government of South Vietnam, frustrated just now by U.S. imperialists proping up Ky as a puppet to hide their real aggression. East Germany (the D.D.R.) is in the second category. So when the Christian Peace Conference's youth commission met recently at Hirschluch, the Evangelical youth retreat center near Storkov in that country, it was not surprising that for the session on Vietnam the host group scheduled a speech by a diplomat from the N.L.F. embassy in East Berlin.

The Western delegates (including a number from the U.S.) found it rather strange to confront the Vietcong in the person of a respected diplomat. But in an interview I found him a simple man, deeply patriotic and about as Machiavellian as a choir boy. To my questions seeking to probe the nuances of Peking-Hanoi-Vietcong relationships he turned again and again to what was for him the alpha and omega of the war: a struggle of the Vietnamese, both north and south, against foreigners in order that they may at last be able to run their own affairs.

In his formal speech the N.L.F. diplomat stressed that the N.L.F.'s first aim is to "drive out the foreigner," after which reunification of north and south will be sought. He declared repeatedly that South Vietnam must be neutral -- clearly an insistence quite different from that of Hanoi, which puts reunification as the immediate priority and does not speak of neutralism. (How easy, one wonders, would it be to reunify the south with communist North Vietnam?)

In the entire address there was not one reference to China. Asked later about that country's attitude, he replied flatly: "The support from China for our

struggle is the same as that from the U.S.S.R., the other socialist countries and the Asian and African countries." He showed little interest in the possibility of negotiations. The condition for speaking with Americans, he said (without alluding to the fact that they won't speak with the N.L.F.), is that they take their troops out of Vietnam. Alluding to Christians, he noted that the "Union of God-Loving and Fatherland-Loving Roman Catholics" is a part of the N.L.F. and that the union's president, Fr. Ho Hue Ba, is a member of the N.L.F. central committee.

Counsel from a Founder

A major highlight of the meeting was the appearance of Josef L. Hromádka of Prague, president and initial organizer of the Christian Peace Conference. Speaking on the meeting's theme, "Revolution and Status Quo," he recalled that on a visit to Japan he, a Czech, was referred to as a "Westerner." That, he argued, suggests how the differences between East and West in Europe are dwarfed by those between the world's north, rich and white, and the south, colored, poor, scared by its colonial experience. He pointed out that the effective peace work now leads participants in the C.P.C. into wider fields than was the case when the agency was organized a decade ago, for the problems of war are embedded in the problems of politics; real peace is not possible without a greater measure of social justice and equality than the world now knows.

Discussing the nature and task of the C.P.C., Dr. Hromádka said there is no point in Christians who differ on politics entering into dialogue unless they are prepared to "expose themselves to the depths of the gospel." He observed that just now in Europe Roman Catholics are ahead of Protestants in the Christian-Marxist dialogue. (His warm comments on a number of Catholic activities and attitudes reminded me anew of what a change has come over the C.P.C.'s outlook on Catholicism since I first attended one of its meetings, in 1960.) Real dialogue, Hromádka insisted, can take place only between people who have convictions; "half-hearted Christians" and "red-painted Marxists," he said, cannot experience true dia-

Dr. Hromádka arrived at the meeting at a moment when a mood of frustration and signs of division threatened morale. Aware of this, he pleaded with the delegates — as he has many times in sessions of the C.P.C. itself, with rare power to persuade and inspire — to find their basis of unity in the Christian faith, the one deep tie that keeps Christians within listening distance of each other even amid wrenching political divisions. "I have found that I can talk with capitalist Christians because I am a Christian first and a socialist after that," he said. He urged the importance of the C.P.C.'s being sensitive to political realities rather than wandering in the vague and the abstract, as often happens at international Christian conferences. (It has been my observation that for all its faults the C.P.C. generally manages to do this; it insists on being concrete about political problems in the area of peace and war even as it thinks theologically, and in this it has something to teach other sections of the ecumenical movement.)

W.S.C.F., W.C.C.

Observers from the World's Student Christian Federation and the World Council of Churches' youth department attended the sessions. It is clear that relations between the W.C.C. and the C.P.C. are better than formerly. It will be recalled that at the recent World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva a number of people who have been in the leadership of the C.P.C. played a constructive role. For instance, Hellmut Gollwitzer played a major part in the thinking that led the conference to speak unequivocally of "the bomb" as "the greatest evil facing man." Yet I recall that at a C.P.S. meeting in Prague in 1960 Dr. Gollwitzer noted that the World Council did not find his thinking at all to its liking. Dr. Hromádka declared that the C.P.C. has done much to bring eastern and western churches together. "But for the C.P.C.," he said, "the churches of eastern Europe would probably not yet have joined the World Council of Churches."

Suspicion of the 'Giants'

Occasionally during the sessions an undercurrent of irritation with both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. was discernible. In part it reflected a "third world" suspicion (owing something, perhaps, to Peking's views) that the two superpowers want to freeze the world as it is. In

regard to the U.S.S.R. there was a feeling that the Russian delegates were unwilling to turn the searchlight of analysis and criticism on their own society, ready as they were on occasion to turn such a searchlight on others. When a Swedish delegate asked a Russian how Christian youth in his country bring necessary challenges to the attention of their government, he got the reply: "In our country the government is the people; no basic disagreements requiring action against the government could really arise."

In the case of the U.S. the irritation at times flared into something more serious — mainly because of the situation in Vietnam and, to a lesser extent, that in Latin America. One statement adopted declared that the Vietnamese struggle against the U.S. is in the tradition of Afro-Asian struggles for independence, that it is inspired by hope for a more just social and economic order. No alternative to the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam was proposed. The communiqué from the meeting called for "an end to the cruel fighting in the South and to the massive bombing of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam" and for "withdrawal of the troops of the U.S.A. and all other foreign countries."

Roberto Mariano of Uruguay sparked a discussion of guerrilla warfare with his address on "The Cuban Revolution and Latin America." He declared that that revolution has demonstrated that popular forces can defeat an army, that a people does not have to wait for "historical forces" to be ripe before launching revolution, and that the future struggle in Latin America "must be in the countryside." Some delegates were unhappy with any suggestion that guerrilla warfare be accepted as a method — at least not until further efforts at gradual change and at altering U.S. policy in Latin America have been made — but the commission as a whole agreed that the need for drastic change is so urgent that guerrilla tactics are by no means to be rejected. Such is evidently the present temper of many young Christians.

The New Left in the U.S.

Brewster Kneen of the U.S. (presently with the F.O.R. in Canada) gave an optimistic address on the "New Left" in his country. Surveying theological and political trends, he said he detects a new, activist radicalism at once more realistic than the social gospel activism

of earlier in the 20th century and more activist than the dominant currents of the 1940s and 1950s.

Some delegates questioned Kneen's optimism. Granting that the New Left may have some influence on domestic issues, they found it hard to see what influence it has or can have on foreign policy. And in the eyes of some the New Left manifests an emphasis on the "cultural" and the "libertarian" which puts it at some distance from the political — in the sense in which politics has to do with pursuing and exercising power. They feel that baring one's soul is not going to influence the structure of power in the U.S. Kneen remarked: "People in the New Left are convinced that government is just not relevant." But the catch, for many non-Americans especially, is that all around the world it is precisely the U.S. government which is "relevant" to the point of shaping, or attempting to shape, the destiny of less fortunate and less powerful peoples; "irrelevant" is the last word many would think of applying to the U.S. government. Like the peasant protests of the Middle Ages, the New Left sometimes seems a bit exotic, even messianic and

anarchist in spirit — and far removed from the levers of power. Such was one strong current of thought.

The question of China and of Chinese participation in the C.P.C. was tackled. The 1961 All-Christian Peace Assembly saw the last appearance of the Chinese at a C.P.C. meeting. Some tensions were evident then, and even correspondence has since been very limited. As on previous occasions, the commission expressed its earnest desire for the participation of the Chinese and undertook to make further approaches. The delegates from the U.S.S.R. did not seem very keen on such approaches; "If they do not answer our letters," one said, "there is nothing we can do." Some felt that discussion of "rich and poor" could not be complete without the Chinese Christians taking part. For China is the most striking example — perhaps the only clear example among large countries — of a nation which has made rapid progress in total independence, not just politically but also economically, from the aid and influence of the Western world and its political and social values.

ROSS TERRILL

CPYRGHT

CPYRGHT

NEW YORK TIMES
18 November 1966

REDS SAID TO EASE VIEW ON RELIGION

Czech Theologian Tells of
Lessening Antagonism

By EDWARD B. FISKE

The Rev. Dr. Josef L. Hromadka, a Czech Protestant theologian who is visiting the United States, thinks that Marxists in his country are showing a new interest in the contributions religion can make to communist society.

"Communists are now realizing that a socio-economic reconstruction of society cannot by itself solve all human problems," said Dr. Hromadka in an interview Tuesday.

"They recognize that problems such as family life and sexual responsibility have a deeper dimension, and they are beginning to look upon man as more than merely a by-product of nature and history," he said.

One result of this new Marxist interest in such questions, he said, is the development of regular dialogue between Marxists and Christians in Czechoslovakia and other European countries.

Received Lenin Prize

Dr. Hromadka, who was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1958, said that such dialogues were possible in part because "it is now being recognized that atheism is not part of the essence of Communism."

"The question," he continued, "is whether we Christians will understand these new developments and have the spiritual strength to cope with them."

The 77-year-old theologian is in this country for six weeks on a little-publicized visit sponsored by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a religious pacifist group, and the United States Committee for the Christian Peace Conference.

Dr. Hromadka was a founder

of the Christian Peace Conference, an ecumenical organization that has held two conferences in Prague.

He has been a controversial figure in religious circles since 1947, when he left Princeton Theological Seminary, where he had taught theology since 1939, and returned to his native Czechoslovakia.

Although he expressed his opposition to Communist teachings, he maintained that it was possible for Christians to cooperate with the Communist economic and social programs without compromising their religious faith.

Dr. Hromadka argued that Communists had come to power in Eastern European countries because of the failure of Western culture to solve social problems, and he urged Christians to use their influence to "purify" rather than oppose the Communist attempt to build a better society.

He was sharply criticized for these views by many prominent figures, including former Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and the late Emil Brunner, the Swiss Protestant theologian.

They argued that Communism was in fact a religion that claimed ultimate authority and loyalties and that Christian cooperation with its programs was thus impossible. They accused Dr. Hromadka of naivete for his interpretation of Communism as a socio-economic force.

In the interview the tall, gray-haired theologian said that the antireligious character of Communism was not inherent in Marxism but rather "the result of historical circumstances."

Religion was closely identified with the forces that opposed the Socialist revolution, he said, and Communism thus fell back on the "shallow, atheistic outlook" of 19th-century rationalism as a tool for enacting its program.

Dr. Hromadka said that Communism had now moved beyond these circumstances.

"The younger Communists no longer have inferiority complexes," he stated. "They accept

the socialistic reconstruction as quite natural."

Dr. Hromadka said that he had been involved in regular conversations with Marxists in Prague in recent years.

He listed the points of contact between Christians and Marxists as a concern with moral problems, the belief that the movement of history has meaning and direction, and "a concern to do something about the cynicism and pessimism that is so widespread in today's materialistic culture."

INFORMATION BULLETIN OF THE CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

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Czechoslovakia

No. 34 - December 1966

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Session of the International Secretariat - Communiqué

The International Secretariat met December 6-9, 1966, in Czechoslovakia. It made a positive evaluation of the meeting of the Advisory Committee in Sofia, especially the addresses, the work of the Theological Group and the unanimously adopted, clear stand on the Vietnam War.

It discussed the fundamental conception of the Third All-Christian Peace Assembly, to be held March 31-April 5, 1968 in Prague. The watchword of the Assembly will be: "Seek peace and pursue it" (Psalms 34:14; 1 Peter 3:11). The theme is: "Save man, peace is possible!"

In connection with the proposals for the work of the Working Committee (GFR February 22-25, 1967), the basic ideas for the study work of the five standing study commissions of the movement were drawn up (Commissions for the Study of Theological, of International and of Ecumenical Questions, the Commission "Peace Service of the Youth" and for the Study of Economic Questions and Questions of the Developing Countries). The Working Committee meeting will also determine the main premises of the consultation for preparations for the Third All-Christian Peace Assembly, to be held in Bucharest, Rumania, September 18-23, 1967.

- 2 -

On the basis of proposals made at the Advisory Committee meeting in Sofia, the International Secretariat investigated the possibilities for organizing a church conference on a peaceful settlement of the Vietnam War. In this connection, recommendations were made to enter into negotiations with the World Council of Churches in Geneva.

Plans for consultations with African, Latin American and Asian theologians were also discussed.

The International Secretariat took grateful note of the invitation for the movement to take part in the consultation on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, as an important step towards disarmament, especially in Europe. The consultation will take place in Driebergen, Holland, January 16-18, 1967. In the same place there will also be organized a broader consultation on the "Role of the Oecumene in Political Decisions for Peace," May 16-17, 1967. Experts from different geographical areas will be invited to both consultations.

The IS made more concrete the proposals for cooperation with his Conference of European Churches and with the Society of Friends (Quaker).

A proposal for the Conference on European Security will be drawn up. The dates envisaged at present for this Conference are November 20-22, 1967, in the German Democratic Republic.

In connection with the preparations for the Fourth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches, the IS proposes that possibilities be sought for active participation in these preparations, as regards the responsibility of Christians for the establishment of the premises for a peaceful solution to the grave problems of the present day.

There was unanimous agreement with Roman Catholic voices pointing out the necessity of Christian work for peace in connection with the previous work of the movement, and ways will be sought for mutual consultations and cooperation.

A telegram of greetings was sent from the IS meeting to the new General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, Carson Blake, on the occasion of his induction into office.

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Calendar of Dates for 1967

1. Commission for study of ecumenical problems postponed for technical reasons

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2. Consultation on Non-proli- Driebergen, Holland
feration of Nuclear Weapons January 16-18, 1967
3. Working Committee and International Secretariat GFR, February 20-25, 1967
4. Commission for study of economic problems and prob- GFR, February 27-March 2, 1967
lems of developing countries
5. Commission for study of Gnadau near Magdeburg, GDR
international problems March 13-17, 1967
6. Commission "Peace Service of Youth" Great Britain, April 3-7, 1967
7. Commission for study of theological problems Holland, May 1-4, 1967
8. International Secretariat Poland, May 9-12, 1967
9. Working Committee and International Secretariat USSR, June 29-July 5, 1967
10. Consultation in Latin Ame- Cuba or Mexico, Sept. 5-8, 1967
rica
11. Preparatory consultation for the Third ACPA-IS, Work. Committee, Study Dept, selected members of the Rumania, Sept. 18-23, 1967
commissions.
12. Consultation on European Security GDR, Nov. 20-22, 1967
13. International Secretariat Prague
Dec. 6 (10:30) -Dec. 6 (evening)
14. Consultation with Asian brethren Japan, together with Regional Conference in November 1967

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Report of the Theological Group

from the session of the Advisory Committee of the C.P.C., Sofia, October 1966.

We Christians are being asked today by many people, and especially by our brethren in South America, whether they are permitted, indeed, whether they are even positively commanded, to take part in a violent attempts to overthrow the government. They point out that in most South American States the ruling system results, in a yearly average, in more deaths through hunger or inadequate medical care than was the case in the Second World War. We owe those Brethren of ours an answer.

The Advisory Committee in Budapest in 1965 answered this question in the affirmative. This same question was also posed with great urgency at the "Church and Society" - Conference in Geneva in 1966.

We have been challenged to undertake a theological study of the problem. The following considerations are a contribution to such a study:

I.

Introduction to a Theological Understanding of Revolution

1) In the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus Christ the end-time of history has begun. It stands now in the presence of Christ and is directed towards his return. Our historical development moves within this tension between the first and last coming of Jesus Christ. We are set within a hope which seeks after the guidance of Jesus Christ at every moment and in every sphere of life. We shall have to give an account to the Lord who meets us in the poor and the wretched as to how we have guarded this hope of ours in history.

2) On the basis of this, and guided by a theology of hope derived from the New Testament, we are required to reflect theologically about the necessity of revolution in relation to inhuman social situations: A literal understanding of the N.T. gives us little to go on. The Church in N.T. times expected its Lord at any moment. It was relatively unconcerned about the forms of government prevailing at the time because it expected them to be brought shortly to an end. Two traditional Christian doctrines can however help us to build a bridge between the teaching of the N.T. and the theological understanding so necessary today:

a) the frequently overlooked doctrine of the right and obligation to resist. This doctrine calls on Christians actively to resist a government which misuses its authority. However, active resistance can only be undertaken when all possibilities of all legal opposition have been exhausted. Whoever resists is at the same time bound to work out a programme for taking over power. The aim must be to set up a new and better order. At this point, resistance passes over into revolution.

b) the frequently abused theory of the just war.
This theory ought to correspond to that of the just revolution to

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that end, the following parallel criteria are mentioned here:

- | "just war" | "just revolution" |
|---|--|
| 1. legitima potestas | 1. democratica postestas |
| 2. causa justa | 2. causa justa |
| 3. Justum bellum
(i.e. jure bellare) | 3. justa revolution
(i.e. jure in revolutione
agere) |
| 4. finis pax | 4. finis pax (ordo justus
societatis) |

3) In the ecclesiastical tradition of the fathers there are also themes which point to a dynamic understanding of history. Prior to the reformation John Wicliff and other medieval thinkers were concerned with the question of revolution. The contribution of John Huss also lay in this direction. Some of the reformers both spread and applied this teaching. In the Roman Catholic Church during the Reformation period these thoughts were also canvassed.

4) Yet the idea of revolution appeared for a long time to be impermissible to the majority on Christians. Either consciously or unconsciously they equated the status quo with the will of God. This attitude makes of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ an idol which is supposed to guarantee the continuence of the present state of affairs.

5) The idea of revolution is also rejected because a static understanding of the role of man in creation prevails in the church. Progress in science and technology, and the social transformation bound up with it, must consequently appear to be a disturbing of the eternal order of God.

6) Our theological understanding of revolutionary activity cannot lead to a laying down of any set principles. It must serve to help our brethren who are faced by the need to make concrete state decisions. It is impossible, in such circumstance, to state exhaustively certain rules which would establish under what conditions violent revolution could be employed. One is obliged to advise our brethren, whatever their situation, to undertake a responsible and well-informed analysis of all possible circumstances. Such counsel can only be given within the context of prayer to the Holy Spirit as there is a prophetic risk involved.

II.

Revolution and the Problem of Force

7) The question of the legality of revolution confronts us at a time when the major confessional churches in Europe are beginning to disassociate themselves from an all too ill-considered and in-

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genuous policy of support for the use of force by the state, in the preparation and execution of war. Conscripts in different countries are witnessing to peace through conscientious objection.

An extensive discussion about violence and non-violence has developed especially under the pressure of the danger of an atomic war. Gollwitzer has drawn our attention to the fact that Christians face "the danger of praising non-violence and warning against participation in a violent revolution to such an extent that it becomes an ideological means whereby those who have become involved in violent revolution have their weapons snatched from their hands". Support for non-violence should not be allowed to justify the status quo of oppression by force nor should support for violent revolution cloud the awareness that Christians have a right and duty to protest against war and bloodshed and not to take part in such things.

8) Revolution necessarily involves the use of force, because the existing social relationship represent structures of power which, for their part, use force in their most varied forms to maintain the status quo.

a) The most primitive manifestation of force in maintaining the status quo is the weight of tradition which rests on human line, stupidity, the fear of taking risks, resignation, hopelessness, etc.

b) The most effective manifestation of force is the prevailing division of property (economic power). By this means, a part of the population can be forcibly deprived of the most elementary of human rights.

c) Numerous forms of political power can also be called upon to maintain the status quo: The influencing of public opinion through press, radio, television; education in schools and universities; the maintenance of the existing order through the passing of laws and the administration of justice, etc.

d) In extreme cases, the police and the army are available to maintain the status quo.

9) Whilst the use of force is always apparent in revolutionary upheavals, the use of force in maintaining the status quo generally remains concealed, because

a) the existing order appears to the man in the street as a fact of life;

b) no one can deny that every society needs to have the conditions for its common life ordered by law; and

c) the existing order is represented and propagated by reactionary ideologies as the will of God, as being the only legitimate, meaningful, or possible thing.

10) Our ecclesiastical traditions teach that the use of armed force in a revolution can only be ultima ratio, i.e.

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a) It is presumed that the oppressions are already using force. Through injustice and terror they have created a system of oppression which often does not need, in the first instance, to use weapons to achieve its self-seeking objectives. Injustice and terror often demand a greater number of victims compared with revolutions with bloodshed.

b) All means of lawful criticism and lawful action must first be courageously and persistently explored. If this does not achieve the objective, every responsible man has a right and duty to resist in every possible way. This includes the proved methods of resistance by the workers; working to rule, and strikes. It also includes the proved methods of non-violence as practised by Gandhi and M.L. King. Such methods under certain circumstances can bring about a gradual revolution without bloodshed.

c) A situation must have arisen in which people are being hurt to a larger extent by the activity or lack of activity of the oppressor than would be the case in a violent revolution.

11) The Christian must bear in mind particularly the fact that even such considerations as these and the decisions resulting from them cannot exculpate him from his share of guilt for the emergence of the unjust conditions he struggles against. Looking to his Lord who has triumphed of the cross, he must be conscious of the fact that the use of weapons or any assistance given involves him further in guilt. The Christian cannot try to rescue himself from anxiety over possible guilt through a policy of neutrality.

III.

The Christian's Responsibility during the Revolutionary Period

12) The new understanding and evaluation of revolution on the part of the Christian church and the readiness to explore its theological implications ought not to lead us to idealize or mythologize it. We ought not to overlook the danger of its becoming depraved and perverted.

13) There is a kind of social upheaval which does not merit the name of revolution. This is the so-called counter-revolution. If revolution means a more human society, then counter-revolution must mean the restoration of an old and unjust social order and the oppression of part of the population and its exploitation.

14) But even just and necessary revolutions are not safe from possible degeneration. One must take into account the fact that revolutions often slip out of the control of their initiators and that undesirable elements within the revolution gain the upper hand; that revolutions can let loose such a flood of vio-

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lence, that the declared aims of the revolution are not longer recognizable. There is such a thing as an excessive revolutionary zeal. Hatred and thirst for revenge can easily go too far. Then injustice occurs- the very thing which was to be avoided.

- 15) It certainly cannot be avoided that the upholders of an unjust social order have their civil rights withheld from them for a certain time after the success of the revolution. However, if the revolution is not to suffer grievously this time must be of limited duration. The peculiar involvement of the Christians in the overcoming of evil directs him to employ opportunely his own methods against the "offenders". The Christians must bear in mind that the oppressor as a human being is under the mercy of God and he must be given the opportunity of repentance.
- 16) The experience of the younger nations indicates that a government's strength can be disaffected in too many activities. This has as its consequence dissatisfaction among people. The government is tempted to use unconstitutional methods. In this way the sources of democracy and justice are sullied. The government is overthrown and leaves behind its chaotic conditions, in coping with which the next government is likewise crippled. (cf. Church and Society Conference, Geneva, 1966).
- 17) The Christians responsibility does not end with the success of the revolution. He must in good time seek to counteract disillusionment and he must not encourage any false expectations. He knows that every step forward is only relative.
- 18) When Christians support revolution, their right to do this is based on not any idea of revolution but on the gospel. Because of this, the objection of greater humanity and justice which the revolution has set itself will not be watered down. On the contrary, we should have a deeper, more level-headed, and more relevant understanding of those objectives. In other words, our support for the revolutionary endeavour cannot be inspired by hatred or a faith in violence. It can only be inspired by our sense of oneness with the sufferers in whom Christ meets us and by our hope for a new and just order and by our readiness to forgive.
- 19) At the time, the Christian should bear in mind that he must at all time and in all places witness to and put into practice the possibilities of love even for his enemies, and the possibilities of reconciliation and forgiveness.

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In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God
and the Word was God.

Let us then pursue what makes for peace and for mutual upbuilding.
John 1, 1 and 14; Romans 14:19

WE PRAY THAT YOU MAY HAVE A JOYFUL CHRISTMAS

AND GOD'S BLESSING IN THE YEAR 1967

ADVENT 1966

CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

March 1967

THE CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE

The Communist front organization known as the Christian Peace Conference (CPC) was organized at a meeting in Modra, Czechoslovakia, in October 1957 and held its first formal meeting the following June in Prague. This meeting set up a Preparatory Committee for a "world" assembly of Christians to discuss peace. This proposed assembly was further discussed at CPC meetings in Prague in 1959 and 1960, and in June 1961 the All-Christian Peace Assembly (ACPA) was finally held in the Czechoslovak capital, attended by some 700 people; although no reputable Western church groups took part officially, there were participants from several non-Communist countries. The Second ACPA was held in 1964 and the Third is scheduled to open in March 1968, also in Prague.

One of the theories espoused by the CPC -- through its highlighted activities at the ACPA's, its periodic committee meetings in the meanwhile in the various East European Communist capitals, and its publications: the quarterly periodical entitled CHRISTIAN PEACE CONFERENCE (proposed at a meeting of the CPC Working Committee in Moscow in 1962) and a mimeographed CPC INFORMATION BULLETIN -- is that a "good" Christian is one who "takes part in violent attempts to overthrow the government" of nations which do not hew to the line set by the World Communist Movement. The rationale for this theory is outlined in the two attached CPC publications.

The CPC is indeed a classic example of how the Communists exploit religious groups on the international scene for their own political purposes while at the same time strictly controlling and steadily undermining the various Christian, Jewish, Islamic, Buddhist, and other sects within the confines of the Communist countries. At present the CPC is, according to its December 1966 INFORMATION BULLETIN, preparing for "active participation" in the Fourth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in the obvious hope of getting the WCC to assist in persuading Christian clergymen that they should champion the CPC claim: "When Christians support revolution, their right to do this is based not on any idea of revolution but on the gospel."

WCC members might recall their Third General Assembly in India in November 1961 when they elected to membership the Russian Orthodox Church, as well as the Orthodox Churches of Poland, Bulgaria, and Rumania. There was much laughter then when, at a press conference following the session, Metropolitan Nikodim, leader of the Russian Orthodox delegation at the Assembly replied to a question about the Soviet Government's control and manipulation of his church: "Those who talk of the subversive role of the Orthodox Church are either uninformed or they know the truth and do not speak it. I have said our main participation (in the WCC) will be in faith and order. You'll see what kind of subversive activity we can do there." Yet Nikodin is also a Vice President of the

(Cont.)

CPC, and strictly follows Soviet policy lines, as in attacking those who try to perpetuate American colonial rule.

Less than two years after Metropolitan Nikodim made his ironic statement about concentrating on "faith and order," the CPC announced in the fourth issue of its quarterly periodical (dated May 1963) that its Statute gave the following description of the patently secular aims of this front organization working in conjunction with the Communist-directed so-called World Peace Council: "to bring Christendom to recognize its share of guilt in both world wars" and "to coordinate peace groups in individual churches and to facilitate their common effective participation in the peaceful development of human society today."

(The CPC has also become another forum for the opposing sides in the split between Moscow- and Peking-oriented Communists. At the 1965 session of the CPC Advisory Committee in Budapest, for example, Japanese Delegate Ogawa took exception to President Hromadka's remarks that "it is equally important that a nation like China ... with a record of unscrupulous militarism in its international relations is not permitted to dominate the other nations.")

How has the CPC gone about organizing its "coordinating" activities by means of "associates" who, according to the 1963 Statute, have the "duty" to "propagate the ideas and aims of the movement and to support it financially according to their possibilities"? The following committees have been set up to prepare for the ACPA's and to run the CPC in the meanwhile:

ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

Duties: 1 Advise on ways and means, 2 Approve statute amendments, 3 Vote on Working Committee's standing orders determining specific rights of the various bodies, 4 Receive annual accounts of Financial Committee.

Membership: 110 members; from Communist countries -- 59; from underdeveloped countries -- 5; from Western countries -- 46.

WORKING COMMITTEE:

Duties: 1 Acts as "the directing body of the CPC in the period between the meetings of the ACPA", 2 Approves the annual budget, 3 Disburses funds if the CPC should terminate.

Membership: 16 members; Communist countries -- 9; Underdeveloped -- 2; Western European -- 5.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT:

Duties: 1 Transacts the business, 2 Prepares the agenda of the elected organs

FINANCIAL COMMISSION:

Duties: Prepares the budget

STANDING ADVISORY COMMISSIONS (12):

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| 1. Peace and Justice | 8. Peace and Ecumenical Affairs |
| 2. Peace and Freedom | 9. Peace and the Roman Catholic Church |
| 3. Peace and the New States | 10. Information Committee |
| 4. Peace and the German Problem | 11. Preparation Committee for the ACPA's |
| 5. Misuse of Christianity | 12. Peace and the Cold War |
| 6. Peace Service of Youth | |
| 7. Peace and Disarmament | |

REGIONAL COMMITTEES (8):

Duties: To carry the work of the CPC to the local level.

Only the President and General Secretary of the CPC and the Chairman and Secretary-Treasurer of the Financial Commission -- who are invariably from, and controlled by, Communist countries -- have authority to allocate funds. Furthermore, inasmuch as all issues brought up at ACPA and CPC meetings are decided by simple majority, the host country -- and this is invariably a Communist country -- can control the actions merely by appointing its own local people to serve in key positions.

The following officials were assigned to the key positions in the CPC in its early stages of organization:

PRESIDENT: J.L. Hromadka (Czechoslovakia)

SECRETARY GENERAL: Jaroslav Ondra (Czechoslovakia)

VICE PRESIDENTS: Metropolitan Nikodim (USSR); Albert J. Rasker (Netherlands); Werner Schmauch (East Germany); Heinz Kloppenburg (West Germany); Tibor Bartha (Hungary).

WORKING COMMITTEE: Bishop Tibor Bartha (Hungary); Prof. George Casalis (France); Prof. J.L. Hromadka (Czechoslovakia); Alexander Karev (USSR); Archbishop Jaan Kiivit (USSR); Heinz Kloppenburg (West Germany); Metropolitan Nikodim (USSR); Metropolitan Niphon (Lebanon); J.N. Ondra (Czechoslovakia); Prof. Albert J. Rasker (Netherlands); Prof. Werner Schumauch (East Germany)*; Prof. Milan Sesan (Rumania); Prof. Richard

*since deceased

K. Ullmann (England)*; Prof. Heinrich Vogel (West Germany); Prof. Andrei Ziak (Czechoslovakia)

EDITORIAL BOARD (of the CPC periodical): Heinz Kloppenburg (West Germany) Chairman of Board; Ludec Broz (Czechoslovakia), Editor; Gerhard Basarak (East Germany); Aleksei Buyevsky (USSR); Georges Casalis (France); Giorgio Girardet (Italy); Herbert Mochalski (West Germany); Josef Smolik (Czechoslovakia); Aleksandr Stoyan (USSR); A.K. Thampy (India); Karoly Toth (Hungary); (NOTE: All are members of the Advisory Committee)

REPRESENTATION ON ADVISORY COMMITTEE (by country): 19 members USSR; 18: West Germany; 9: East Germany, Czechoslovakia; 8: Hungary; 5: Great Britain; 4: Rumania, Switzerland; 3: Poland, France, Holland, United States; 2: Bulgaria, Denmark, Japan, Austria, Yugoslavia; 1: Cuba, Communist China, Liberia, Lebanon, Ghana, Sierra Leone, India, Norway, Italy, Belgium, New Zealand, Finland.

CHAIRMAN: Viktor Hajek, Czechoslovakia.

Some brief biographical data on the leaders of the CPC point up how this organization is controlled as a front group by recognized pawns of the World Communist Movement:

Prof. Josef L. Hromadka was born in 1889 in Czechoslovakia. He is currently Dean of the Komensky Evangelical Theological Faculty in Prague, Chairman of the Czechoslovak Ecumenical Council of Churches, and Deputy Chairman of the Czechoslovak Committee of the Defenders of Peace. He was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize in 1958, the year he helped set up the CPC. He travels abroad frequently, attending sessions of the World Peace Council and the World Council of Churches. In what was perhaps an inadvertent admission of the true nature of the CPC's leadership, he had this to say during his main address at the CPC Advisory Committee meeting in Budapest in October 1965 when referring to plans to encourage a "dialogue" with Western Christians: "Sometimes we who live in the sphere of Eastern Europe are accused of having a one-sided and biased view of public events or the future structure of the world. It would be a mistake for us to deny this."

Prof. Jaroslav Ondra was born in 1925 in Czechoslovakia. In a career somewhat in the shadow of Hromadka, he was Secretary of the Czechoslovakia Ecumenical Council of Churches in 1960 when he was appointed Director of the Ecumenical Institute of the Komensky Faculty. He has since attended numerous international gatherings in Africa and in Europe in connection with CPC activities. According to the March 1966 issue of the CPC INFORMATION BULLETIN, Ondra attended the Geneva meeting of the WCC the previous month and later declared that although there was still

*since deceased

some "small difference" between the WCC and CPC on how to solve the crisis in Vietnam, progress had been made "on those points which drew the attention of the parties involved to the fact that they should understand the development in South East Asia as a positive social revolution."

Metropolitan Rotov Nikodim was born in Ryazan in the USSR in 1929. He is Chairman of the Department for External Church Relations of the Moscow Patriarchate and a Permanent Member of the World Peace Council. He headed the Moscow Patriarchate's Theological Mission in Jerusalem from 1956 to 1959, and was made a bishop the following year shortly after becoming 30 years old; he was made an archbishop in 1961 and Metropolitan a year later. He has more than once been accused of serving as a Soviet spy during the several trips he has made abroad, ostensibly on Soviet Government controlled church business. Moreover, Nikodim does not enjoy the support of a good part of the Russian Orthodox clergy at home; abroad he has alienated many religious leaders by openly admitting, in response to questions about his participation in the CPC, that "by supporting such causes we gain standing in the eyes of our Government." His prejudged views on what is the cause for the lack of world peace were expressed in his address at the CPC Working Committee session in Budapest in October 1965 when he castigated "those who are stubbornly against peace" by wishing to perpetuate the "colonial rule" in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, West Germany, and Watts, California -- but did not mention the colonial rule of the Baltic and Central Asian areas of the USSR.

Prof. Albert J. Rasker was born in 1906 in the Netherlands. He was Head of the Theological College in Djakarta in 1942, where he was interned by the Japanese during World War II, and has since been active in several world peace organizations while serving as Professor of Theology at the University of Leyden. As the major speaker at a meeting of the "Easter March Movement" in Bremerhaven (West Germany) in February 1966, for example, he predicted that the "Eastern" socialist movement would replace the "outmoded" social and economic structure of "Western" origin, and he added that the USSR is no danger to world peace whereas "the Americans in Vietnam are Adolf Hitler's best students" in waging war.

Prof. Werner J. Schmauch was born in 1905 in Germany. At the time of his death in 1964 he was on the Staff of the Theological Department of the Ernst Moritz Arndt University in East Germany. The previous year, according to the Communist East Berlin radio, he was one of 24 "Protestant personalities" in East Germany to sign an open letter to their co-religionists in West Germany, calling for a "political-ethical reorientation" in regard to relations between the two parts of Germany.

Dr. Heinz Kloppenburg was born in 1903 in Germany. After advancing to several key positions in the Evangelical Church, he began attending

a number of international church congresses. His attempts to get the clergy involved in political groups such as the "Easter March Movement" have frequently met with strong opposition. Despite an official warning by the leadership of his church, he participated in the First ACPA in 1961. He is also Chairman of the Central Office for the Protection and Rights of Conscientious Objectors and a Corresponding Member of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. In his opening address at the 1965 session of the CPC Advisory Committee in Budapest, Klop-penburg set the tone for sublimating religion to politics when he decried the fact that "what has been entrusted to secular authorities is not among the duties of the church"; for it is the "duty of the church remind Christians of their political responsibility" and to "brand those who break the peace, violate justice, and harm humanity."

Bishop Tibor Bartha was born in 1912 in a part of Hungary which is now Rumania. He is President of the General Synod of the Reformed Church of Hungary and Chairman of the Ecumenical Council of Hungarian Churches, having been installed in a previous key position in the Church by the present Hungarian Foreign Minister (and former Reformed Bishop) Janos Peter. He has also been active in Communist Hungarian political affairs: delegate to the National Assembly in 1958, member of the Presidential Council in 1963, and member of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front in 1964. He has traveled extensively abroad on CPC business, and in 1965 was a delegate to the Central Committee meeting of the World Council of Churches in Nigeria. Speaking as the representative of the host government at the CPC Advisory Committee meeting in Budapest in October 1965, Bartha cautioned the delegates that the entire Hungarian people who had suffered terribly during the war were watching the meeting and this should be a "warning sign to us that the secular world is listening to the peace messages of the churches."

The aim of the Communists to exploit the understandable peace demands of Christians and other religious groups was perhaps best summed up in the claim made in the article appearing in issue No. 7 (1963) of the CPC quarterly: "The Christian Peace Conference, by taking up the work of study in a decisive position, overcomes the cold war that still burdens the relations between East and West. It can do so because it is the only church place where Christians that have adopted a left position, whose reason has led them to approve the way to socialism, are not met with a priori suspicion, but are taken seriously."

In other words, the CPC is an avowed vehicle for those who "approve the way to socialism" (i.e., communism) to spread their biased political propaganda. It is "Christian" in name only, and the "Peace" it preaches is one dictated by the World Communist Movement --- of which it is just one of the many fronts set up for this purpose.

CPYRGHT

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INDIAN EXPRESS

7 Feb. 67

WASHINGTON POST

February 15, 1967

Dalai Lama hopes to go to UN

SIMLA, Feb 6 (UNI)—The Dalai Lama hopes to present Tibet's case for freedom in person to the United Nations shortly.

He told UNI he was taking steps to visit New York for this purpose and was only waiting for a "favourable" time to do so.

The Tibet question had come up before the UN General Assembly three times, but without any "positive" gain.

He had therefore decided to appear before the Assembly himself and tell the world forum "the untold story of Tibet" and enlist its support for Tibetan freedom from China.

He said his Government in exile had approached all the member countries of the UN to seek their active support for this just cause.

In the changed conditions in China flowing from the current "cultural revolution," he felt the Tibet issue would get much support from other countries, particularly those which value freedom and respect religion.

The Dalai Lama said the civil war in China had widened the gap between the Chinese and the Tibetans.

As a consequence of the activities of the Red Guards in Tibet, the Chinese had incurred only the hatred of the Tibetans.

After Tibet regained its independence, a decision would be taken on whether it should become a member of the UN. He personally felt that the Tibetans, when free, could not live in isolation from the world family.

Although no definite dates had been fixed for his proposed tour of Southeast Asia, he was eager to make this "pilgrimage" in the near future.

Maoists, Rivals Battle in Tibet

From News Dispatches

Fighting has broken out in Tibet between supporters of Mao Tse-tung and anti-Maoists headed by the Chinese general who led Chinese troops into the Himalayan land in 1959. Japanese correspondents reported from Peking yesterday.

Peking wall posters reporting the Tibetan clash also told of a growing purge of anti-Mao military men, and seizure of Peking's Ministry of Agriculture by Maoists amid official calls for Red Guard help with spring crops.

One Red Guard was killed and many "revolutionary rebels" were wounded Feb. 10 in the Tibetan capital of Lhasa during a "white terror" organized by the Chinese military-political boss there, the wall posters said.

The fighting in Tibet was the latest in a series of anti-Mao stands reportedly taken by local Army commanders in the far reaches of China. Earlier reports have told of disaffection by military men in Sinkiang and Inner Mongolia.

Attack Followed Seizure

Dispatches in the Tokyo newspaper Yomiuri and by the Kyodo News Service, quoting Peking wall posters, said the conflict in Tibet began after pro-Mao groups took over Party and govern-

ment offices in Lhasa Feb. 3. Anti-Maoists officers met three days later, the Peking posters said, and a column of armored cars rolled into Lhasa and surrounded the security agency, police office, Party headquarters, and People's Committee office.

Then, on Feb. 7, a battalion from the crack 155th Regiment moved into Lhasa and encircled Red Guards from the Peking Air Academy and the Red Flag Fight Corps., placing them under arrest, posters said.

The bloodshed occurred early Feb. 10, the posters said, in a clash between a supply convoy and the "revolutionary masses."

Anti-Maoist General

Heading the anti-Maoists in Tibet, the posters said, was one of the most powerful men in western China — Gen. Chang Kuo-hua—who led Chinese troops into Tibet in 1951, and since then has been commander of the Tibet military district and first secretary of the Communist Party there.

Aiding the Tibet military commander in suppressing the Maoists in Lhasa was Chang Tsai-wang, deputy chief of the Tibet Cultural Revolution committee, the posters said.

BALTIMORE SUN

7 February 1967

Ouster Of Lamas In Tibet Related

Tokyo, Tuesday, Feb. 7 (AP) — Ninety per cent of more than 100,000 lamas in Communist-controlled Tibet have been stripped of their priesthood and placed in industrial labor, a Japanese report from Peking said today.

The Peking-based correspondent of the newspaper Yomiuri said this was disclosed by Premier Chou En-lai in a meeting with Tibetan students in

Peking, last October 15.

Yomiuri said Chou stated that "The lamas were liberated in the current great proletarian cultural revolution."

Chou was quoted as saying "Panchen Lama was dismissed of his post of acting chairman of the preparatory committee of the Tibet autonomous region in 1964 because he was opposed to the lamas' return to secular life and the separation of religion and politics."

Panchen Lama succeeded Dalai Lama who sought asylum in India in 1959.

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Broken images tell of atrocities in Tibet

HINDUSTAN

By a Staff Correspondent

7 Feb. 67

New Delhi, Feb. 6—Two broken clay heads of Avaloketesvara, the Tibetan god of Infinite Mercy, their coats of gold dust and their chiselled features badly damaged tell the story of the Red Guards' "cultural revolution" in Tibet.

The images were brought here used for making the image was recently after a long and perilous journey from Lhasa. For five months they lay in a sewer where they had been thrown by the Red Guards after the destruction of the Central Cathedral.

The people picked up the images. They passed through several hands before men and women, at great risk to their lives, carried them on dark nights along lonely tracks and evaded the vigilant eye of the Chinese troops manning the border to bring them to a place of safety.

A message has also come to the world as a proof of the atrocities being committed by the Red Guards.

The sunken eyes of the images seem to gaze in mute wonder. The rescuer had put wax seals beneath them as proof of their being original. The names of the people who brought them here are being kept a secret for obvious reasons.

Wrapped in saffron scarfs, they are being preserved here as one of the most prized possessions of Tibetans in India.

In the destruction the Red Guards unleashed in Tibet, the only image that escaped them was that of Sakyamuni. This was kept in an iron enclosure. The keeper of the image had locked the gates and fled.

The image of Avaloketesvara, popularly known in Tibet as Thugje Chempo, was the first to be put up in the Lhasa Central Cathedral built in the seventh century by King Songtsen Gampo.

The image had 11 heads and 1,000 arms, with an eye on the palm of each hand. The pieces which have been brought to Delhi formed the main and one of the additional heads of the Avaloketesvara.

According to legend, the clay was collected from eight sacred places and kneaded with the Gangas water. It was built on a frame-work of sandalwood roct from Ceylon, shaped like the Buddha. Over the years pilgrims from Tibet, the Himalayan regions and Outer Mongolia went to make offerings at the feet of the Avaloketesvara. Many of them ap-plied coats of gold dust on the image.

According to information given by some refugees a party of Red Guards entered the Cathedral on Aug. 25 and destroyed the image. The Red Guards had not left a single functioning monastery in Tibet.

Public humiliation

Speaking to newsmen here today, Mr. Thupten Ningee, acting representative of the Dalai Lama, said refugees had told him that even objects of worship in possession of individuals had been completely destroyed. Their owners had been publicly humiliated.

Monasteries which had been preserved for propaganda purposes had been converted into working offices for the Red Guards.

Mr Ningee showed some scrolls from the Tibetan sutra of the Buddha which had been made into bags for selling candles and other articles.

The scrolls have been brought to India by refugees.

General Chang-Ku-Nua, who was reported to have been publicly humiliated, is now stated to have been sent back to China.

The refugees also confirmed the news that the Panchen Lama was living like an ordinary citizen in a cooperative society after having been forced to marry a Chinese girl.

Escape across the borders was becoming more and more difficult. Last year only 100 refugees had managed to come out of Tibet.

March 1967

Chinese Communist efforts to wipe out Tibetans - excerpts from miscellaneous publications:

Facts About Tibet, 1961 - 1965, issued by the Bureau of the Dalai Lama, New Delhi

pg 16. . "evidence has been submitted of forced marriages between Chinese military and civilian personnel and Tibetan women, a measure apparently designed to promote assimilation. Children born of these marriages are given Chinese names, taught to speak Chinese .. and are brought up according to Chinese customs and traditions. Tibetan men .. are not allowed to marry Chinese women. The female population of Tibet has always been small, and it is now estimated by Nepalese traders who recently visited Tibet, there will be a scarcity of Tibetan women for Tibetan men to marry in another 5-10 years."

"there are also reports that one half million Chinese have been sent to central, western and southern Tibet as part of a 5-year plan to settle two and one half million Chinese in these areas. By means of this 5-year plan, Communist China will eventually absorb the Tibetan population as well as alleviate the burdens of over-population in China"

"sterilization operations on men and women continue to be reported, and Tibetans fear that such operations are part of a Chinese plan to exterminate their race"

News-Tibet, February 1967, Vol. III, No. 1, issued by The Office of Tibet, New York

pg 1. . "the Chinese are making great efforts to improve road communications throughout Tibet mainly to facilitate their own troop movements. The (Chinese) troops now in Central and Southern Tibet are estimated to run above the 300,000 level"

"it appears that the Chinese authorities are still intent on enforcing their integration policy. The immigration of Chinese Hans into Tibet is steadily increasing. Tibetan girls are being forced to marry into Chinese Han families. Even shops belonging to Tibetans have been seized and given to Chinese Han.... the Chinese are also continuing to introduce communes throughout Tibet. According to one refugee report published in The Statesman (New Delhi, 17 Dec. 66) the Chinese have now started communes in the Tromo area. They exist as well in Shigatse, in Central Tibet, Nyalam, near Nepal's northern border, and Tingri, below Everest. Men and women have been separated and live in communal dormitories; they are only allowed to meet one day a week"

Broadcast - Delhi General Overseas Service in English, 7 Jan. 67

"(Text) Reports from Tibet speak of severe persecution of Tibetans by the Chinese and stiffer resistance by Tibetan freedom fighters. Other reports say that the Chinese are forcing mass sterilization on the Tibetans. The Chinese authorities also take over almost 75% of Tibetan products, leaving the Tibetans practically nothing to support their own families"

Times of India, 7 Feb. 67 issue, by a Staff Reporter

"Mr. Ninge (acting Representative of the Dalai Lama in New Delhi) said that .. according to refugees reaching India, 300,000 military personnel and 200,000 civilians from China had settled in Tibet. The Panchen Lama had been divested of his authority and now worked in a co-operative as an ordinary citizen. He had been humiliated in the streets and made to marry a Chinese girl. Over 17,000 Buddhists had left Tibet since 1959"

Der Klare Blick, Bern

23 November 1966

REVIEW OF BOOK VOELKERMORD IN TIBET
(GENOCIDE IN TIBET)
BY ROBERT INWYLER AND ARTHUR GOETSCHI

The fate of the Tibetan people under Chinese rule is described on a few pages. The statements are based on eyewitness reports from the Dalai Lama and from Tibetan refugees in Switzerland as well as a documentary report by the commission of international jurists in Geneva.

During the 7th century the Tibetan people founded a separate state as a result of the unification of its tribes. Since the end of the 13th century, the country has been ruled by a political power which emerged from the Buddhist monasteries. Temporal and spiritual power were united in the person of the Dalai Lama who was supported by the national assembly (Tsongdu) and by a council of four ministers (schapes). Between 1933 and 1951, Tibet was completely independent of China. Then China took over the guidance of Tibetan foreign policy; 8 years later, in March 1959, China smashed an uprising against Chinese rule. The Dalai Lama and many thousands of inhabitants fled to India. At that time Tibet was made a Chinese

province and it has since then been heavily settled by Chinese. At the same time the extermination of the small and brave Tibetan nation was launched.

The book was published precisely at a time when the Red Guards began their activities also in Tibet. The Tibetan monasteries were stormed, their works of art and countless other documents of old Tibetan culture were destroyed.